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The Spirit Stalkers on the Landscape of School

by

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to the "old ones" and their wisdom; to my children and grandchildren who have taught me how to feel again; and to my lifelong partner Diane who has brought love, balance and harmony to my earth walk.

Abstract

These are stories of lived experiences on the landscape of public, culturally assimilative schooling framed around a form of violence called shaming. These are stories of shared experiences that are seldom talked about although we have all encountered forms of shaming at some time in our schooling lives.

With a view to broadening our understanding of shaming, I sought to document the process of shaming as narratively composed, embodied in persons, and expressed as experiences within schools. Storying creates a new sense of meaning and significance with respect to the constructed shaming process and provides an alternative way of thinking about the violence of shaming. Where experiences of shaming are lived and then re-told in stories, they provide a milieu to think and tell about experiences that are multi-directional, that look upward, inward, outward, backward, forward, and downward in their telling.

More specifically, I wanted to suggest that we need to re-think our common sense and academic ideas about shaming in conscious and unconscious teaching practices in primary and secondary schooling which are assumed (by some) to be inherently learning promoting. A school system that is shame-based, in that it values competition over cooperation, equates performance with personal worth, and maintains ridicule, honour and disgrace as the harshest punishment, is hurtful. Such a system is more shameful than nourishing, and often makes students feel exposed and diminished, resulting in feelings of inferiority and anger.

It is hoped that this examination of shame will alert the schooling community to the functions which shame plays both systemically and individually, and in so doing sort out ways in which the growth promoting aspects of teacher-student relations can be maintained and the unnecessary stunting and damaging aspects be eliminated.

These stories attempt to bridge the gap between Western epistemologies and methodologies and indigenous ways of knowing through an indigenous perspective. They do not privilege one way of knowing over another but draw on multiple ways of knowing in the construction of awareness, nurturing, transition, and courage to act – **the journey of the sacred hoop**.

Acknowledgements

One never walks alone. We live a life of relationships that makes your life walk meaningful. As a grandfather, a father, a husband, a soldier, and brother I have had many relationships but none as momentous as with those people I have met during this educational journey. I do not have the words that will adequately express my deepest feelings for those who have accepted me as a brother and guided me in this work. At best I can only offer my sincere gratitude.

I grateful to *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew* and *Jill* for sharing their stories with me. They were stories that helped me to begin to understand my own earth walk.

I want to thank the members of my examining committee: Dr. Margaret Haughey, Dr. Rod Wilson, Dr. Stan Wilson, Dr. Andie Palmer, Dr. Jean Clandinin, and Dr. Michael Marker. In particular, I would like to thank Dr. Michael Marker for his kind comments as my external examiner; Dr. Stan Wilson for providing the catalyst for this work; Dr. Rod Wilson for the many informative, challenging conversations and support that kept me going; Dr. Andie Palmer for her stories, clarity and for understanding my struggles with writing these stories; Dr. Jean Clandinin, I wonder without your patience, encouragement and friendship if this story would have ever been written; and Dr. Margaret Haughey, without your guidance, attentiveness, hard work and encouragement, this work may never have been completed.

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Foreword

It is probably unusual to have a foreword to a dissertation. However, the purpose is to set the stage, as it were, for the approach I have used in presenting this work. Having completed the conversations with my participants in this endeavour, I felt it was important to attempt to maintain the personal and experiential context of the work in the writing. I agree with Connelly and Clandinin "that humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. The study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways humans experience the world"[1] As such, "this general notion translates into the view that education is the construction and reconstruction of personal and social stories; teachers and learners are storytellers and characters in their own and other's stories."[2]

I not only include the complete protracted conversations that were voice taped, verified and validated over almost one and a half years with each of the four participants, but also situate myself within the storyline. Each person initially indicated a willingness to have a conversation about her educational experience and was then involved in the educational field. The conversations began with these four participants, a First Nations person, a Metis person, and two non-Native Canadian born persons, and continues currently with the two Canadians. *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew* (Mountain Woman), the First Nations person has returned to her healing path and we have not had any further conversations for six months. The Metis person after approximately a year and a half withdrew from the conversation. As agreed in the ethics agreement, all the recorded sound tapes and transcriptions have been returned to her, no questions were asked as to why she withdrew, and there is no information included in this writing. *Jill* (the non-Native) probably made the clearest statement concerning this type of research when she indicated that it is dependent on trust and it was more difficult emotionally to go back into those events, moments and feelings than she imagined. A central trust issue was raised by each of the participants separately. With the exception of Mountain Woman, each was concerned about how I would see and feel about them once they "unmasked" themselves in the conversations. My response was that we were both at risk in exposing ourselves and I trusted that our conversations would create a loving bonding from our shared experiences. ~~With th~~e exception of the Metis person, my assumption has proven to be correct and we now have brother - sister relationships that I expect will continue for a lifetime. I also provided each participant with voice tape recordings of all the conversations; once the tapes were transcribed they were returned to the participant for verification of the transcript, and each participant was provided with a draft copy of the dissertation for their perusal, editing and to demonstrate how the information was be used. Mountain Woman did not express any concern because her telling was essential to her personal healing to make public the experiences of First Nations children in residential schools. Once she told her story she needed to return to her Native healing ceremonies and was unable to further discuss her experiences. What clearly emerged from this approach was that not only did their stories talk about relationships but the very process of story telling created a relationship between the listener and teller that was essential to the establishment of trust, respect and bonding.

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[1] F. M.Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry," *Educational Researcher* vol. 19 (1990): 2.
[2] F. M. Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, 2.

As a person who follows the way of the pipe, walks the "Red Road", and practices indigenous[3] ways of knowing, I have adapted Frank Fools Crow's[4] sacred hoop (*Cangleska wakan*[5]) as the guiding principle for this journey. The guiding principle is a way of life that embraces the interrelationship of living in four-worlds, a system of beliefs, values, and practices that characterizes Lakota relationships between lived experiences and the natural world. These are my understandings that have emerged from numerous years of oral training, written text, and experience.[6] The four-world construct of living in the world is ethos (life ways) and eidos (thought ways) of the Dakota/Lakota people as expressed by Black Elk and Frank Fools Crow through the written interpretations of Brown, Mails, Neihardt, Eagleman, and others. It is typically imbedded in what has been called "Creation Stories" and an extensive use of metaphors like "Creator", "Great Mystery", "The Unknowable", and so on. This belief system and world view has been taught to me through years of conversations and ceremonial practice by Charlie Gibbons, Cliff PomPana, Joanne PomPana, Lionel Kinunwa, Charlie Patton, Will Campbell and others.

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[3] I use indigenous to mean people from or of the land. I also use it instead of Native, First Nation, Metis, Indian, Amerindian, Aboriginal, etc. Also see Thomas E. Mails, *Fools Crow: Wisdom and Power* (Oklahoma: Council Oak Books, 1991), 159; and S. Perrins, "Metaphorical Revelations: A Description of Metaphor as the Reciprocal Engagement of Abstract Perspectives and Concrete Phenomena in Experience," *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 2 (1987): 251-280.

[4] Frank Fools Crow was a noted Ceremonial Chief of the Teton Sioux who died in 1989 at the age of 99.

[5] The source of the Lakota language is from. E. McGaa, Eagle Man, *Mother Earth Spirituality: Native American Paths to Healing Ourselves and Our World* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), 211-215; L. Smedes, *Shame and Grace: Healing the Shame We Don't Deserve* (New York: HaperCollins Publishers, 1993). Reviewed by J. Dearly, Oglala Lakota, Lakota linguist and language instructor.

[6] Dorothy Lee, *Freedom and Culture* (Harvard University: Spectrum Book, Prentice-Hall, 1959), speaks directly to the question of responsibility as does Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* published in 1928 cited in Peter Knudtson and David Suzuki, *Wisdom of the Elders* (Toronto: Stoddart Publishing, 2001), 170-172; see H. Bernard, *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology* (London, UK: AltaMira, 1998); B. Blount, *Language, Culture, and Society*, 2nd ed., (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1995); John G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1979); Joseph Epes Brown, *The Sacred Pipe* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989); Thomas E. Mails, *Fools Crow* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1990); E. McGaa, Eagle Man, *Mother Earth Spirituality* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990); G. Alfred, *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1995); R. Erdoes and A. Ortiz, *American Indian Myths and Legends* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984).

In the beginning there is only one animating force (*Skan*). *Skan*, as emotive energy,[7] a form of motion, brought together all the components that make up stone (*Inyan*). Thus stone came to be. From the dynamic interrelationship between *Inyan* and *Skan* the sun (*Wi*) emerged. The interaction between *Wi* and *Inyan* creates the earth (*Maka*). These interrelationship of opposite and complementary forces of energy create a cooperating force, the first world of the above.

On earth, the second world, we see, we hear, feel and experience the natural phenomena of living in the world. *Skan* becomes *tate* (the wind) and *wi* has a smaller opposite energy force of itself in *hanwi* (the moon). The powerful wind that comes with thunder is *tate* and includes darkness as part of *Wakinyan* (the dark thunderclouds that signal a thunderstorm). The last created phenomenon on earth is *Unk*, that which causes discord or contention from the negative energy forces emerging from the interaction of *Wakinyan* and *Hanwi*. Earth is also referred to as the below.

The third world is the organic world excluding humans, viewed as people: one legged, two legged, three legged, and four legged.[8] The understanding is that the world is not empty; everywhere there is life, visible and invisible, and every object possessed something that would be good for us to have also – even the stones. The winds, insects, plants, water creatures, and the animals provide instruction, knowledge, guidance, and advice. The buffalo represented courage to face adversity[9], the bear healing because it dug up roots and other things that could be used for healing. The eagle could represent the ability to rise above adversity. The animals and plants could teach us how to live and survive in a particular location or more generally in the world. In some cases some indigenous people are named after animals and they are responsible to emulate and learn about their animal attributes and use them as spirit guides in their life walk. The connection to animals is a natural process of getting acquainted, exchanging friendship,[10] learning relatedness, and as a helper in dealing with the challenges of living in the world. And finally, *Yumni wi* (the power of the feminine – Mother Earth).

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[7] For a discussion of energy and human behaviour see H. Hass, *Das Energon* (Wein: Molden, 1970) in Irenaus Eibl–Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), where it is argued that organisms are energy-acquiring systems with a positive energy balance – termed "Energon." "Life processes are maintained by the multiplicity of organisms and by those energy-acquiring systems developed by them. The energetic process presupposes structures at its disposal that are 'adapted' to the appropriate energy transformation. Each organism must possess structures with which it can extract energy from the environment. These structures are adapted to the appropriate energy sources, that is, they are so constructed that they can tap the specific energy sources and thus aid in the maintenance of the energy-acquiring system. The environment is not only the source of energy but also the source of a multitude of interfering and even harmful influences against which the organism must protect itself" (7).

[8] For example: one legged are trees and grass, anything that is connected to the earth with one stem or leg; two legged anything with two legs (i.e. birds); three legged, fish and; four legged, deer, etc.

The fourth world is the human animal, which is made of four aspects: spirit, soul, intellect, and twins. *Niya*[11] (the spirit) is expressed as an energy form. *Nagi*[12] (the soul) is that part of the human that never dies, is the natural aspect of the human, and can communicate with the animals. It is the aspect of the human that is in direct contact with the Great Mystery (*Wakan Tanka*) because it is at the centre of the human. The intellect is the mind that makes cognitive sense of the world. The Dakota do not think of a person as dying but rather as a process of transformation in which the

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[9] Depending on the indigenous group the animals' spirit might be assigned to one of the directions and/or have special aptitudes or abilities to survive in the world that should be emulated.

[10] Dorothy Lee, *Freedom and Culture* (Harvard University: Spectrum Book, Prentice-Hall, 1959), 63.

[11] Is a form of *Skan* in this instance a transporter or emotive force.

[12] *Nagi* is part of the individual and the source of *Skan* emotive energy.

Nagi is returned to the centre by the power of *Niya.* Once this process of *Nagi* transformation is completed *Niya* returns to the Great Spirit from which all energy in the form of *Skan* exists. The final aspect of the human animal is the concept of twins. This is personality or emotions of the individual consisting of a positive aspect and a negative aspect called the shadow (in Jungian terms) or trickster (in indigenous terms). The person is taught from an early age to pay attention to the trickster aspect or dark side of our personalities and of the world that has the power to trick us. By addressing and giving voice to the trickster it will educate us and give us positive gifts, which will help us to grow in a healthy way. We address the trickster because the world is the way it is because this is the way we are. In other words body, mind, spirit, and emotions represent the sixteen aspects of *Wakan Tanka* (the great mystery).

The "big bang theory"[13] may be an analogous way to speak about and provide additional understanding of this worldview. The "big bang theory" suggests that our galaxy was created from an enormous explosion in space, possibly the explosion of a super nova; however we are not sure. This is *Wakan Tanka* (the great mystery, the great unknown from which all things are created). The molten debris is propelled into space (*Skan,* the emotive energy, force or power). As this molten debris is propelled it begins to cool forming stone (*Inyan*). The stones cool at varying degrees, have varying mass, and emit varying degree of electromagnetic energy that repel and attract each other and change the proximity and trajectory of the stones to a continual circular motion (*Skan*) that we associated with the sun, moon, and planets that we know of in our galaxy – the Milky Way. It is the negative and positive attraction that creates the circular motion (like a hoop) of the whole in a balanced and harmonious way (the interrelationship between *Inyan*, *Skan*, W*i*) that creates *Maka* (earth).

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[13] I. Shllovskii and Carl Sagan, *Intelligent Life in the Universe* (New York: Dell publishing, 1966), 133. Also see G. Cajete, *Igniting the Sparkle: An Indigenous Science Education Model* (Skyand, NC: Kivaki Press, 1999); and *Native Science: Natural Law of Interdependence* (Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2000); and P. Coutu and L. Hoffman-Mercredi, *Inkonze: The Stones of Traditional Knowledge* (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada: Thunderwoman Ethographics, 1999); C. Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968); G. Spindler, ed., *Doing the Ethnography of Schooling.*(Toronto, ON: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982); *Education and Cultural Process* (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, Inc., 1987); "Roots Revisited: Three Decades of Perspective," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 15 (1984): 3-10; "The Transmission of Culture," in *Education and Cultural Process*, ed., George D. Spindler, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974); and G.

When we shift our focus to earth, we see a condensing atmosphere filled with electromagnetic energy (*Skan*) that creates thunder, lightening, and rain (*Wakinyan*), and winds (*Tate*) which we call natural weather phenomena that are influenced by the positive relationship of the sun (*Wi*) and particularly the negative relationship of the moon (*Hanwi*). The interrelatedness between the sun and the weather conditions are seen to be harmonious and not contentious; however, the moon and stormy weather conditions are seen as a negative interaction that causes discord or contention (*Unk*). For example, we know that the moon's electromagnetic force has an affect on tides and it is not uncommon for people to say, when their lives are in disarray or there is a noticeable number of unusual events, there must be a full moon tonight. This illustrates the interrelatedness to the above and below.

The condensing atmosphere filled with electromagnetic energy (*Skan*), amino acid and gene pools creates organic life. Water and plant life provide an oxygen and food environment that sustains and nurtures an emerging organic life. *Ina maka*, our earth mother, is an expression of the intimate positive relationship (nurturing and

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Spindler, and L. Spindler, "Review Essay: The Case Studies in Education and Culture From Cradle to Grave," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 14 (1983):72-80.

sustaining) between *Maka* and *Skan*. As the above and below are related so are humans related to all living life that possesses *Skan* (even rock) and emanates from the same creative force, *Skan*. Therefore we are intimately related to all living things and as such we must respect these other life forms that can teach us how to live in this shared environment. Respect also implies a responsibility to protect these other life forms so that we may all survive (interrelatedness). As an example, plant life is essential for cleaning and creating the air we breathe; therefore we have a responsibility to care for and protect plant life for the survival of all organic life. In this sense plants are friends that have a particular essential role in helping us to survive in this environment and if we want to survive plants must survive (a cyclic intra-relationship of kinship).

In the fourth world *Skan* is expressed as *Niya*, that electromagnetic force that animates the human being; the driving force that radiates from our thoughts, actions, emotions, and deeds; and that produces positive and negative energy that influences *Skan*. In Dorothy Lee's study,[14] Dakota men saw themselves as people who related to every aspect of the universe, and their primary concern was to experience, understand and enhance this universal relatedness through hardship, privation, and great pain (ceremonies) whose ideal is humility, peace and harmony with all. The Dakota were responsible for all things, because they were related to all things. On one level this meant that all behaviour had to be responsible, since its effects always went beyond the individual. To be was to be responsible, because to be was to be related; and to be related meant to be responsible. "The corollary of this postulate of relatedness, even of oneness, with the universe, was that the self was, or became eventually, co-extensive with the universe"[15]; to serve the people was to serve oneself. One stood in humility, knowing that one did not occupy a special place, yet was humble without cringing, without loss of spirit.[16] These understandings are translated into living in the world. The world *is* and the central concern is surviving in the world in a balanced and harmonious way that serves and protects all living things.

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[14] Dorothy Lee, *Freedom and Culture* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1959), 59-69.

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[15] Lee, 62.
[16] Lee, 67.

The natural phenomena of the cardinal directions are significant as determinants of how to survive in the world.[17]

> The West (*Wiohpeyata*) is black; the direction where the light goes down symbolizes wisdom. As we approach the end of our light we gradually realize that it is our own decisions that decide how and what kind of life we will live and that our actions can protect or harm. *Wakinya*, the power that emerges from thunder and lightening, may also be seen as the Black Eagle. A Thunder being or Thunderbird was the black clouds that constitute the thunderstorm and seem to fly toward us, usually from the west. As it approaches, we can see lightening and hear the thunder that can bring floods and lightening strikes and has the ability to bring fear to the individual. It has the power to destroy. It also has the power to bring life-giving rains that cause things to sprout and grow and in this sense it is the preserver and creator of life. In human terms this twin aspect as destroyer and creator may be interpreted as a transformation process where the old way of being dies to the creation of a new way of being (vision quest, or fasting for some, is one of the ceremonies for this understanding and process).
>
> The North (*Waziyata*) is the place or land past where the pine trees grow, synonymous with the Arctic and an Arctic front that moves down from the north bringing cold, snow, and freezing air that has a destructive power. This destructive power is seen as a snow monster that promotes the need to be aware, to be vigilant, to be careful, to be prepared, and to protect ourselves from the cold Arctic air. The positive aspect is that of being the teacher and as a coping metaphor. It teaches us ways of coping with the extreme cold and Arctic winds. As the numbing air invades our physical being, it activates coping mechanisms to think and reason and thereby to know about ways of coping with these kinds of situations. These energized coping mechanisms are viewed as the positive aspects of *Waziya* in that they teach us to prepare in advance for the cold winters that experience has shown us do actually exist and will approach as the leaves change colour and frost appears. It is also a teaching metaphor for dealing with negative human behaviour. The buffalo's survival tactic

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[17] I have illustrated my own quest in each of these directions and have used these four paintings as ways to encourage the reader to orient to the direction and its focus. In addition, I have added copies of my own photographs of Hawk and illustrations of Crow for the same reason.

is to confront *Waziya* head-on to survive the cold, freezing, Arctic winds. The buffalo has its own kind of coping mechanism to face the wind. It has a special kind of fur that is thickest around its head, hump, shoulders, and down its frontal area. This protects the buffalo from the Arctic wind. The buffalo is a metaphor for our own survival. Like the buffalo, we must learn to face into the harsh, cold, stinging winds of criticism, envy, jealousy, disapproval, condemnation, rejection, and so on. We can survive if we live decently, with honesty and face directly into these storms. Doing things, actions, our talk, and thinking, move us towards a better way of reasoning and as our reasoning improves so does our honesty and thereby we move closer to understanding. It is a metaphor of action not resignation. The colour for this direction is red, the colour of courage and of spirituality. The pursuit of a spiritual path (the red path) requires a tremendous amount of courage. Its twin aspects are honesty and courage to understand delusions, illusions, falsehood, misrepresentations, misunderstandings and misinterpretations and the courage to act in an honest way.

The East (*Wiyoheyapata*) is the direction from where the light comes and the colour is yellow. It is the light that takes us out of darkness, which illuminates our understanding. It takes us from unawareness to awareness for those who seek to understand. As the sun rises it is the metaphor for the gradual process of awareness. This is an awareness that all things are related and we have a responsibility to do no intentional harm and that our actions (physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional) can create harm as well as peace and harmony.

The South (*Ito kagata*) the place from where the spring, the summer, and the powers to grow that nurture us comes from. The colour is white. It is the place that nurtures our understanding that we as people depend on to survive. It is the place where we grow in knowledge of how to keep our nurturing connection with our Mother, the earth. It is the medicine world that can be used to heal if used appropriately and to destroy if used inappropriately and without the proper training and knowledge. *Inipi* (sweat lodge) ceremonies are the way we renew our understanding, healing and connectedness to the four worlds. It is the lodge that brings together the four worlds and evokes the powers of the six directions.

When we consider the sacred hoop (*Cangleska waken*), energy is translated as power emanating from the cardinal directions. While the meanings of colours may be different, depending on which indigenous group one encounters, and have a variety of meanings or power, for the purpose of this journey, six directional colours are used – blue, yellow, white, black, red and green. Blue is the colour of Father Sky (*Makiyah ate*) or what we call the Universe and the spirit world. Yellow (*Zi zi*) is the power of the East (*Wiyoheyapa ouye*) and refers to awareness or illumination; white (*Ska*) is the power of the South (*Itokaga ouye*): nurturing, the Southern axis of the Sun. The power of the West (*Wiyopeyata ouye*) is black (*Sapa*), transition or change, and the power of the North (*Waziya ouye)* is red (*Sha*), courage, especially the courage to act. Green is Mother Earth (*Ina maka*) that provides for all of those who walk softly with respect upon her. She provides all the natural things we need to survive on this earth walk. As one travels around the hoop from the East there is awareness, which is nurtured in the South to facilitate change in the West and the responsibility to act in the North. The experience of acting creates a new awareness that is nurtured to facilitate change and the responsibility to act again. So the journey continues as we seek to become. We are guided by our Grandfathers' Spirits (upward) and our Grandmothers' Spirits (downward) that require us as people to look inward, look outward, look backward, and look forward to our becoming human beings that respect and are responsible for all living things on our earth walk and do no intentional harm cognitively, physically, spiritually, or emotionally.

I attempt to capture a sense of these converging (twin) powers of creation and destruction with protectors in the metaphors of the Crow and the Hawk. The Hawk is the protector of our spirit (*Niya*) and interconnection to our origins (*Nagi*) while the Crow is the trickster that creates and destroys. Trickster plays a central role in the story of Crow and Hawk moments in educational experiences, and the meaning of trickster unfolds throughout the text. The English word "Trickster" is wholly inadequate to portray the meanings Trickster holds for Indigenous peoples in North America. For some, trickster is a doing rather than a being.[18] The stories and understanding of trickster vary within different Indigenous cultures and take on different meanings such as enchanter, absurd prankster, teacher, or shape shifter; he often takes on human and animal characteristics.[19] In Radin's study,[20] trickster is found amongst the ancient Greeks, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Semitic peoples, and Aboriginal tribes. The trickster is creator and destroyer, who dupes others and also dupes himself. The trickster is viewed as willing nothing consciously, constrained to behave on impulses over which he has no control. The trickster "…possesses no values, moral or social … yet through his actions all values come into being. Trickster is primarily an inchoate being of undetermined proportions, a figure foreshadowing the shape of man."[21] The trickster possesses these traits and many others and so do the figures and animals associated with him like Raven, Coyote, Hare, Spider, Crow and so on. I use trickster in the metaphoric sense of imagination, who at certain periods in history and time gives us his picture of the world and of himself. In another sense, trickster depicts one's struggle with oneself and with a world into which one has been thrust without one's volition and consent. I acknowledge the inward and outward looking and connection with archetypal principles in what C.G. Jung calls the shadow[22] and suggest that some teachers are the other figures of the plot connected with tricksterness.

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[18] See Gerald Vizenor, "Follow the Trickroutes: An interview with Gerald Vizenor" in *Survival this Way: Interviews with American Indian Poets,* ed., Joseph Bruchac (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 287-310; and J. Bruchac, *Tell Me a Tale: A Book About Storytelling* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997).

[19] See Terry Tafoya, "Coyote's Eyes: Native Cognition Styles," *Journal of American Indian Education* 22. 2 (1982): 21-33; and Janice Accoose, "Past Halfbreed: Indigenous Writers as Author of Their Own Realities," in *Looking at the Words of our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature*, ed. Jeannette Armstrong (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1993), 27-44; S. Miller and M. Frederick, "Uses of Metaphor: A Qualitative Case Study," *Qualitative Studies in Education* 1. 3 (1988): 263-272; S. Pugh, J. Hicks, and M. Davis, *Metaphorical Ways of Knowing: The Imaginative Nature of Thought and Expression* (Urbanda, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1997); S. Pugh, J. Hicks, M. Davis, and T. Venstra, *Bridging a Teacher's Guide to Metaphorical Thinking* (Urbanda, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1992).

[20] For another interpretation of trickster see the study completed by anthropologist Paul Radin, *The Trickster*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956); H. Norman, *Trickster and the Fainting Birds* (New York: Gulliver Books, 1999) and Ratsoy, E. "Metaphors in Teacher Evaluation, Policy and Practice: Achieving Greater Understanding with Multiple Images." *Canadian Administrator,* 36. 8 (1997):1-12.

[21] Paul Radin, preface p. x.

I use the Hawk as the metaphor to distance myself from the emotions and remembered experiences of the stories; The Hawk is the source of *Yumni wi* (feminine power). The Hawk, like the Eagle, rises above adversity and looks inward, looks outward, looks backward, and looks forward. The analogy would be that as we travel our path of becoming, the Hawk flies above our journey; *Niya* (spirit) and *Nagi* (soul) are the intraconnections between the Hawk and ourselves that looks inward and outward. As we walk our life path, our earth walk, the Hawk sees where we have been (looks backwards), can see where we are (the present) and can see where we are heading (looks forward). When we are faced with the harsh, cold, stinging winds of criticism, disapproval, condemnation, or rejection (shaming), she (*Yumni wi*) warns and renews our spirits so that we can cope. She renews our understanding of responsibility, respect, and harmony that we need to survive and to face directly into these storms with humility, without cringing, and without loss of spirit.

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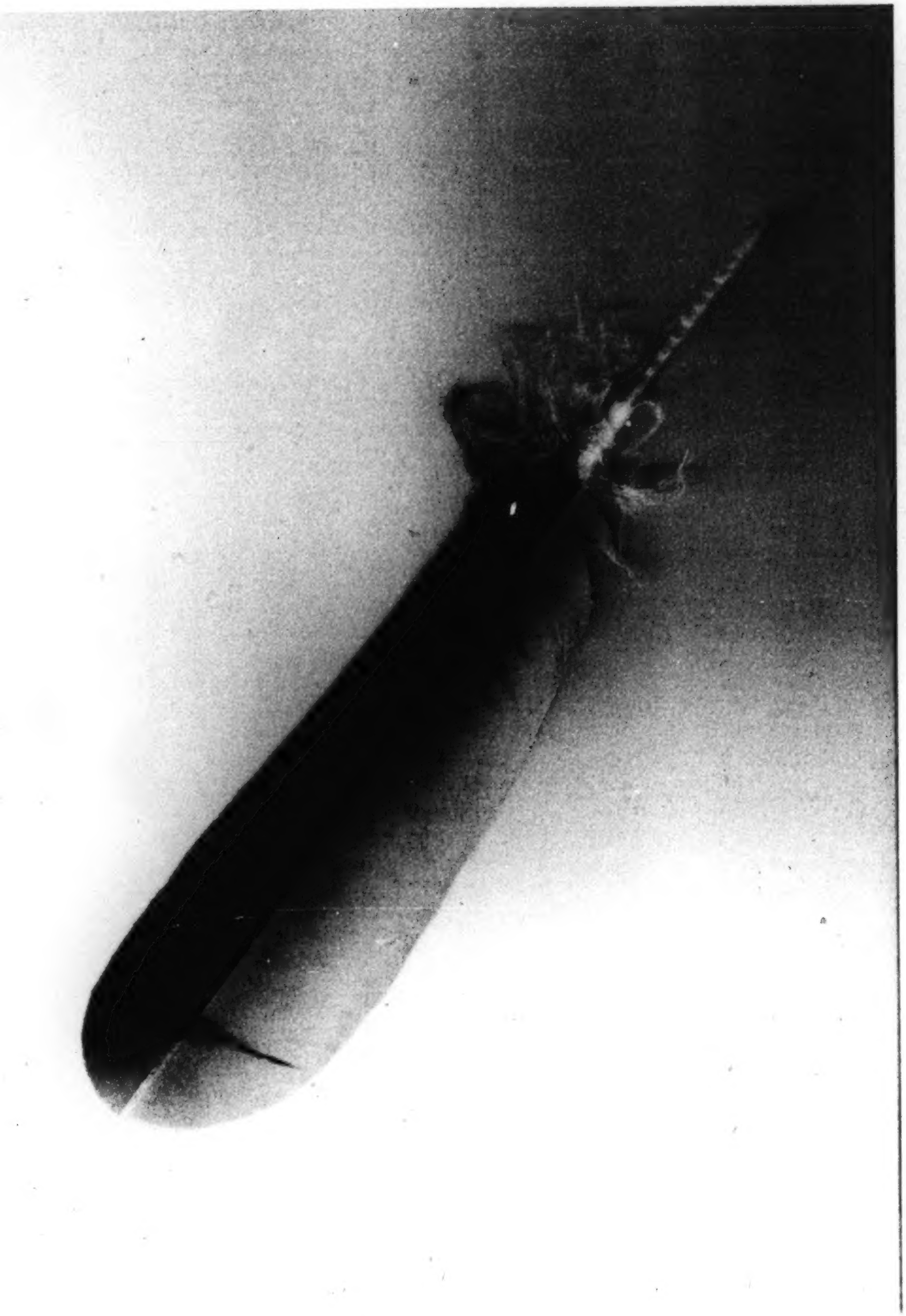
[22] For examples see Anthony Storr, *The Essential Jung: Selected and Introduced by Anthony Storr* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1983); Carl G. Jung, *Man and His Symbols* (New York, A Windfall Book, Doubleday and Company, 1964); and C.G. Jung, *Analytical Psychology Its Theory and Practice* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968).



I invite you to join me on my journey of becoming. I ask that you leave your preconceptions behind as we travel the sacred hoop that guides our becoming.

Becoming

I would like you to go to that place where you take time for yourself, where you relax, that place where you have those quiet moments, and imagine these words, pictures and feelings as we journey together.

In the solitude of my nest, seated in my Lazy Boy, from the recesses of memory **I rewind the video-memoir** of my lived experience in formal education.[23] Unconsciously, I am probably editing a version of my living in the world; the natural editing[24] of those buried moments and feelings of life of a grandfather's experiences. As I replay those memories,[25] I select the starting point of the story, the story line, the plot line, and the end of this story of a lived experience. There are no surprises, only a search and a re-searching for the underlying meanings of moments in time that shaped a lived life. **The whining sound stops. The video clicks at the beginning of my memory. The story plays forward. The black screen appears with indescribable sounds followed by lines of light, the visions of my unclaimed memory.** Sounds, smells, feelings bombard my senses as the first images begin to appear to these grandfather eyes. **I press the fast-forward, to get past those memories that are not part of this story at this time.** A public grade school emerges. It is the ominous two-story rust brick building, across the street from the Church, where I spent my primary school days. An architectural edifice, probably of the thirties and forties, similar to others that dotted the educational landscape of Ontario. The dirt recess-yard, with the wooden telephone pole in the middle, surrounded by a concrete retaining wall topped with a wire-mesh fence. Now I wonder, where is the barbed wire? That fence! The symbol of my bounded freedom and other ways of knowing. I wondered why that pole was in the centre of the boy's playground because it served no purpose – it always got in the way of "murder" (dodge) ball games. The mixed ancestries of Irish, French, Italian, and Mohawk children dutifully lined up at the sound of the bell that Sister Michael Joseph (a pseudonym) clanged incessantly at the entrance to the school to marshal the untrained minds for the beginning of the school day.

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[23] "For these are stories that orient the life of people through time, their life-time, their individual and corporate experience and their sense of style, to the great powers that establish the reality of their world, [where] consciousness is moulded by the sacred story to which it awakens, and in turn it finds expression in the mundane stories that articulate its sense of reality" Stephen Crites, "The Narrative Quality of Experience," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, v. 39. 3 Sept. (1971): 295 and 297; "The Aesthetics of Self-Deception," *Soundings*, vol. 62 (1979):107-129; and G. Esland, *The Construction of Reality* (Bletchley, Bucks: The Open University Press, 1971).

[24] Recollections are not simply a process of the head but detailed scenes that are very vivid in memory Stephen Crites, "The Narrative Quality of Experience," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, v. 39. 3 Sept. (1971):300-301.

[25] For a general discussion and an attempt to bring together the scientific research from a variety of perspectives on autobiographical memory see David C. Rubin, ed., *Autobiographical Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986). For the purpose of this discourse I use Barclay's thesis from the above noted text, "that most autobiographical memories are reconstructions of past events …must convey precisely and honestly the autobiographer's intentions; they need not, in fact cannot, convey an accurate record of the past. The events reported must be plausible and consistent, not veridical" (11). By autobiographical memory I mean significant memories of one's own life experiences. "As such they can be used both to recount the past and to teach lessons for the future. The intimate association between memory and narrative arises from this urge to use the past to instruct present and future generations … [as] a resource" John A. Robinson, "Autobiographical Memory: A Historical Prologue," in D. Rubin ed., *Autobiographical Memory* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 19 and 23. Also see Eva Hoffman, *Let Memory Speak*. (The New York Times Book Review, 23 Jan 1994); C. Davies, *Reflexive Ethnography* (London, UK: Routledge, 1999).

I see the rectangular shape of the classroom, with the 'in' door and the 'out' door, the girls' entrance, the boys' entrance, the rigid straight lines for the girls to the left of the door and the boys on the right, the neat rows of desks and Sister Michael

Joseph dressed in her black habit, restraining the boys with her wooden pointer from entering the classroom until the girls are seated.

There is a blur! The video rewinds! I have no control of these images! Images of an earlier time: I see another nun, a dirt road, and a grey stone gothic looking building. There is no sunshine, only a grey ominous sky just before a storm; it's the orphanage in Quebec! I hear another bell that marshals my indigenous brothers to the boys' door, a buried image is evoked.

The video fast-forwards to that moment of entering the classroom. Not a word is spoken, not a sound made as we walk like robots to our designated places. I am there, a transmigrated[26] being in my child-self, walking dutifully to the fifth desk in the third row. Sister Michael Joseph is standing at the front of the classroom in front of the oak desk, pointer in hand, checking to see if we are all seated and looking at her, ready to receive the instruction for the day. I think of the pointer, the arbiter of our prescribed behaviour! Her voice resonates within me, "We are going to do art today for the open house tomorrow." I couldn't believe my ears. We're going to do art! The passion of my fledgling life! I was so elated; I could hardly contain myself until I remembered the pain of the pointer. All I heard was the word **ART**. It reverberates in my head! In my whole being! The dash to the supply room and the gathering of drawing material is a blurred vision. I shape shift between the visions, emotions and feelings from a grandfather looking back to becoming my child-self seeing a painting of a winter scene

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[26] When I use the word transmigrated I am attempting to capture in words becoming that child again with the feelings, emotions and senses of those moments of experiences – becoming part of the video replay – not simply viewing it. This re-living changes the grammatical tense as I shape-shift from lived experiences of the grandfather writer, the re-lived experiences as an adult, and the re-lived experiences as a child, R. Levy, "Self and Emotion," *Journal of the Society of Psychological Anthropology Ethos* Fall 2. 3 1983: 128-138.

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where a house is in the centre of a field. The fields, the house, the roadway and walkway and the roof are covered by several days of snow. There is white smoke coming out of a chimney and a yellow glow coming from the window. I paint the sky red and blue, but mostly red, and blend the colours in a streaking fashion to represent those cold winter days in the country when the sun is rising and the night sky is fading. I reflect these colours on the snow and the house. As I'm finishing the painting the teacher who has been visiting each child's desk checking our progress arrives at my desk. She grabs the picture from my hands and asks me in a loud voice, "When did you ever see a sky like that?" and walks away with my picture. I am devastated! I feel humiliated as the other children's cowed glances survey the commotion. Sister Michael Joseph never said another word to me for the rest of the class. I see the following day, an open house and all the children's art displayed. I don't think my picture will be displayed but I'm curious and go to look at everyone's art pinned up around the room. I'm surprised. My painting is hanging at the front of the class and Sister Michael Joseph and a lay teacher are talking about it. Sister Michael Joseph is telling the other teacher everything that is wrong with the picture, particularly the sky and how she changed it. The other teacher liked the picture and said, it reminded her of her grandparent's farm house and how the colours reminded her of how cosy and warm the house was on a cold winter's day. Sister Michael Joseph laughs, and said, "The purpose of the exercise was to draw straight lines and a simple picture of geometrical forms!" I see myself head down tears welling up in my eyes. I hear a voice from my youthful past: **"Don't you cry!"** I quietly walk from the room unnoticed, resolving never to be treated like that again. I don't see anyone else, just the long walk home, my hands in my pockets, kicking a rock and returning to the empty house of my adoption – another domicile of illusion. I enter the solitude of my room and escape into art.

In my grandfather's memory, I can't locate any other art classes in primary school. I wonder, have I buried them in the deepest recesses of my memory? As I linger in those visions of humiliation, **the video rewinds, I have no control, the pictures blur past to an earlier time when at five, or maybe it was six, I sat in another row of desks in another classroom – in the orphanage.** I sat there with my "savage brothers!" We were called savages in those days, amongst other things. I had my "face slapping lesson" meant to teach me what to attend to in that cloister of salvation. The words of the other children still resonate with me – **Don't you cry!** It was our silent resistance to those moments of abuse. With my grandfather's mind, I construct this epitaph of the lived moment:

Not My Shame

I remember the wire fence
I remember the boy I was talking to
I remember the feel of the hand grabbing my shoulder

I remember spinning around
I remember the feeling of the sting on my face
I remember the sound of the slap

I remember the feeling in my back
I remember the head snapping back
I remember the feeling of my body hitting the ground

I remember the Nun standing over me
I remember her disgusted look
I remember her twisted face

I remember the sound of her screaming voice

I remember her pointing finger
I remember feeling something lost

I don't remember my language

When I think about it now, as much as I tried, I could not attend to the lessons. I closed off "Their World" and buried myself in drawing. I endured the inevitable punishment for not completing tasks, the threats that I would be held back from progressing with my classmates, and that I would not be able to participate in art classes with the other children. I see the elation of that primary school child overwhelmed with the prospect of doing art again, a prospect denied for so long, that I wonder about the purpose of education. I think about that child's joy shattered by demands for cultural conformity, which drew me back into those moments of humiliation, punishment and silencing.

The video fast-forwards to another moment of schooling. In high school, I tried again and took an art class. It seemed that it did not matter what project I handed in, the drawings or the paintings were appreciated but the form and composition were never right. I would start with a partial mark in the 90s and end up with just a pass because I did not comply with a prescribed view of composition. There was no attempt to validate or to take that raw talent and develop it. It was always "This is the assignment!" "It's due on this date if you want to receive a mark!" Through my grandfather's eyes, it was another experience of what I now name as shaming. I never did take another art class. I remember, at first, that I was eager to learn, then learning became a struggle to maintain some dignity. I learned not to expect much from teachers. I do not remember ever seeing those paintings again. I continue still to draw today, as a self-taught artist.

I realise now that I could not visualise those simple perspective exercises and practical drawing assignments without putting them in some broader context. The forms were lifeless and had little meaning to me. I guess I was not supposed to be thinking that in grade four. Looking back, I find myself seeing these experiences as an example of educational shaping that attempted to separate me from my direct knowledge of the world and to replace it with a conceptual lens of constructs and theories of prescribed knowing. My cycles of institutional shaming continued, the prescribed process of gaining acceptability that attempted to smother my innate talent, my ways of knowing how to do things beyond instruction. As I re-lived these moments of a life lived, I see now that these were moments on my journey of becoming.

The video fast-forwards to the first day of school for my twin granddaughters. “We’re going to real school now, grandpa!” the girls exclaim in unison. “Oh! Is that so?” I reply. I see Paige, standing in front of me with her hands on her hips, swaying from side to side, and a confident look on her face “We’re grade oners now, grandpa!” “Hmm” I reply. “Kindergarten, that’s for babies!” chimed Britni. “We’re going to school like you grandpa!” They could hardly control their excitement. “Even when you’re old you can go to school, eha, grandpa?” “Yes.” “Do you like to go to school, grandpa?” asked Paige. Before I could answer, Britni interjected, “Why do you like to go to school?” “Because I am learning things I don’t know” I replied. “Like the time you took us to find red willow?” asked Paige. “You remember, grandpa, when you taught us how to walk across the slippery logs, by looking up and putting one foot in front of the other, to keep our balance, and Paige fell" said Britni. "Yah, but I wasn't hurt" retorted Paige. "Do you still remember?" I asked. "You were only two when we did that!" "Yesss!" "Remember, grandpa, red willow is really special in the sacred pipe!" "Could we go and find some more red willow?" asked Britni. "But first we're going shopping, with grandmaaa!" exclaimed Paige. "We're going to get school supplies!" "Can we look at hats and shoes too? "New school shoes and hats, I can't wait," said Paige. "Ask grandma" I said. Off they ran to the kitchen to see grandma. I could hear them bombarding her with questions: "Can we look at shoes, and hats?" "Can we buy those markers that smell?" "When are we going?" "Grandma do you know where I put my coat?" "Can we go to McDonalds, you know the one with the play slides?" "Can we get a backpack like grandpa?" "Can grandpa take us to school on Monday?" "Grandma can we…." Can we this and can we that? I marvelled at the way my wife patiently and calmly fielded the questions in a loving and compassionate way.

After shopping everything had to be placed just so in the backpack in readiness for school on Monday. The day ended with hugs and kisses and a caution from Paige. "Don't forget grandpa, you have to pick us up early because we don't want to be late for school on the first day." "I'll remember," I replied. As I re-live that moment, what elation, excitement, and chaos as the girls got ready for a new adventure – they were "grade oners" now.

When I picked them up on Monday morning, they were standing by the curb waiting for me. The girls were a curious sight, these tiny frames with backpacks bulging to the point of bursting their seams, jumping up and down when they saw my van turn the corner onto their street. The trip to the school was a short drive with constant chatter about what the day would hold for these grade oners. We parked in the designated parking spot for dropping off students. The girls clambered out of the vehicle. I was struck by the presentation of the school, its appeal. The tan stucco facing, not the dirty brick factory-like structure of my youth; there was no fence, just open spaces and a well-appointed playground adjacent to the school. We entered the school through the front door not the side door, nor the boys' door, nor the girls' door. Nor was there the clanging of the school bell. Yet as we approached the main door, holding hands, each girl on either side of me, I felt a tension in their grip; I wonder now if it was my tension as I remembered my own first day in primary school. The long, lonely fifteen block walk to school. No grandfather, father or mother holding my hand as I approached the domicile of learning. I guess in those days you were expected to find your own way to school. The girls and I were greeted by teachers at the front door and directed to the classroom. Yet I think there was an apprehension and I was glad I was there and that the experience suggested that things had changed, a hope that things would be different for my granddaughters.

The video fast-forwards. The girls are in grade three now. They are not elated to go to school. I wonder what happened to those hopes, that promise that things would be different. Paige is most unhappy and Britni goes through the motions and does what is required. What happened to that spirit for learning? Where I once watched those fledgling Hawks on our discovery trips for red willow, I now see them growing only Crow feathers. I am filled with dread; with Hawk eyes from my experience I see their

past, the elated grade oners, their **present**, the disenchantment with learning, and I imagine their **future**,[27] as a reproduction of my own journey.

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[27] Stephen Crites, "The Narrative Quality of Experience," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, v. 39. 3 Sept. (1971): 301.

The Crow and the Hawk[28]

As I thought about my childhood experience with education, I was transfixed by the moments of humiliation. I became that child again, immersed in the feelings of my savaged spirit, held motionless by that piercing action of others. I see Sister Michael Joseph scurrying down the corridors of the school with her habit billowing out in the air from her rushed movements and I see the Crow – the scavenger of the lived world! The intruder into our lived space. The one that knows no boundaries! The one that intrudes into our lived experiences! In the midst of these feelings of malaise and reliving the teachers' conversations – I see the Hawk! Seldom seen or heard by most. The protector of our being, swooping down, restoring my diminished spirit (*Niya*). When I remember the budding artist, I see a fledgling Hawk sprouting Crow feathers of culturally prescribed knowing, form, and shaping plot lines. My primary, secondary and post-secondary education silenced my possibilities of writing a different story. As I draw back and view the landscapes of those classrooms, I wonder, "Where are the Hawks?"

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[28] Birds have an ancient mythology and mysticism. In most societies, animals were visible signs of invisible forces; this was especially true of birds. Legends, folklore, and mythology are filled with winged creatures that touched humanity in many ways, (T. Andrews, *Animal-Speak*, St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1996). Also see Hal Zina Bennett, *Spirit Animals and the Wheel of Life: Earth-Centered Practices for Daily Living* (Charlottsville: Hampton Roads Publishing, 2000). In the north, Coyote, Beaver, and Wolverine join Raven and Crow in oral tradition as tricksters. Trickster is not just a jokester or magician, but can present himself in such realms as love and education. Trickster may be the emotive force behind the man who cannot control his lust, or more benignly, the one who teaches another how to exalt in life and find beauty in even the most commonplace things. Paul Radin (*The Trickster* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956) describes the Trickster as creator and destroyer, who dupes others and also dupes himself. The Trickster wills nothing consciously and behaves on impulses over which he has no control. He knows neither good nor evil yet is responsible for both. He is said to not possess values, moral or social conscience, yet through his action all values come into being. In particular, Crow (in Algonquian stories) is sometimes seen as a thief (intruder in the life of man), a helper for trickster and trickster himself against whom a community rails, and in so doing discovers its own reliance and protective skills, (Howard Norman, *Trickster and the Fainting Birds,* New York: Gulliver Books, Harcourt Brace, 1999). Also see Lewis Spence, *Myths of the North American Indians* (Toronto:

As a grandfather, I wonder what other primordial knowledge was silted over by the identities prescribed by others? Is it the shaping over, the smothering conformity that buries our living in multiple worlds, that silences our possibilities? I worry about my granddaughters and, what silencing are they being subjected to?

As I imagine myself as the grandfather Hawk soaring for a vision of the curvature of the earth, I still feel the tugging restraints of Crow on my tail feathers. As I look back with Hawk eyes to those lived experiences, in a perverse way I find that those of us who have these experiences are still part Crow and part Hawk, positioned between the identity socialised through educational story lines and the Hawk moments of re-storied dignity. Could I ever know the Hawk without the experience of the trickster Crow, the teacher of a way of being that contrasts with the moments of the Hawk?

The Crow and the Hawk

> Crow had a nest in which she laid two eggs. For a day or so she sat on the eggs to hatch them, but then she grew tired of this and went off to hunt food for herself. Day after day passed but Crow did not return, and every morning Hawk flew by and saw the eggs with no one there to keep them warm.
>
> One morning Hawk said to herself, "Crow who owns this nest no longer cares for it. Those eggs should not be lying unwarmed. I will sit on them and when they hatch they will be my children."
>
> For many days Hawk sat on the eggs and Crow never came to the nest. Finally the eggs began to hatch. Still no Crow came. Both little ones hatched out and mother Hawk flew about getting food for them. They grew larger and larger until their wings became strong. Then mother Hawk took them off the nest and showed them how to fly.
>
> About this time, Crow remembered her nest and she came back to it. She found the eggs hatched and Hawk taking care of her little ones. Hawk was on the ground, feeding with the young crows.

McClelland and Goodchild, 1914); R. Bartel, *Metaphors and Symbols* (Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1983).

"Hawk, what do you think you are doing?" cried Crow.

"I am doing nothing wrong," Hawk said.

"You must return these young crows you are leading around."

"Why?"

"Because they are mine," Crow replied.

"To be sure, you laid the eggs," Hawk said, "but you went off and left them. There was no one to sit upon them and keep them warm. I came and sat upon the nest and hatched them. When they were hatched I fed them and now I am showing them how to find their own food. They are mine and I shall not return them to you."

"I shall take them back," Crow threatened.

"I shall not give them up. I have worked for them. Many days I went without food sitting there upon the eggs. In all that time you did not come near your nest. Why is it that now I have done all the work to hatch and raise them you want them back?

Crow looked down at the young ones. "My children," she said, "come with me. I am your mother."

But the young ones answered, "We do not know you. Hawk is our mother."

At last, after she saw that she could not make the little crows come with her, Crow said, "Very well, I shall take this matter to Eagle, the King of the Birds, and let him decide. We shall see who has the right to these young crows."

"Good," said Hawk. "I am willing to go and tell the King of the Birds about this."

And so Crow and Hawk and the two young birds went to see Eagle. Crow spoke first. "When I returned to my nest," she said, "I found my eggs hatched and Hawk taking charge of my young ones. I have come to you, the King of the Birds, to ask that Hawk be required to return the Children to me."

"Why did you leave your nest?" Eagle asked Crow.

To this question, Crow gave no reply. She simply bowed her head in silence.

"Very well, Hawk," Eagle said, "how did you find this nest of eggs?"

"Many times I flew over the nest and found it empty," Hawk replied. "No one came for a long time, and so I said to myself, 'The mother who made this nest can no longer care for these eggs. I shall be glad to hatch these little ones.' So I sat on the nest and warmed the eggs until they hatched. Then I went about getting food for the young ones. I worked hard and taught them to fly and to find food for themselves."

"But they are my children," Crow interrupted. "I laid the eggs."

Eagle glared at Crow. "Wait for your turn to speak," he said sternly, and then turned back to Hawk. "Is that all you have to say, Hawk?"

"Yes, I have worked hard to raise my two young ones. Just when they are able to care for themselves, Crow comes back and asks to have them given to her. It is I who went without food for days so as to stay on the nest and keep the eggs warm. The birds are now my little ones. I do not wish to give them up."

Eagle thought a few moments, muttering aloud to himself: "It seems that mother Hawk is not willing to return the young ones to mother Crow. If mother Crow had truly wanted these young ones, why did she leave the nest for so many days, and now is demanding that they be given to her? In truth, Hawk is the mother of the young ones because she went without food while she warmed and hatched them and then flew about searching out their food. So now they are her children."

When she heard this, Crow approached closer to Eagle. "Oh, King of the Birds," she said, "why do you not ask the young ones which mother they will choose to follow? They are old enough to know that they are crows and not hawks."

Eagle nodded his head and turned to the young ones. "Which mother will you choose?" he asked.

Both young Crows answered together: "Hawk is our mother. She is the only mother we know."

"No!" cried Crow. "I am your only mother!"

The young crows then said to her: "You abandoned us in the nest. Hawk hatched us and took care of us and she is our mother."

"It is settled," Eagle declared. "The young ones have chosen Hawk to be their mother. So it shall be."

At this, Crow began to weep.

"It is useless to weep," said Eagle. "You abandoned your nest and it is your own fault that you have lost your children. It is the decision of the King of the Birds that they shall go with mother Hawk."

And so the young crows stayed with Hawk, and Crow lost her children. [29]

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[29] http://www.indians.org/welker/crowhawk.htm Nativelit@earthlink.net. I have contacted the administrator of this website to get permission to use this poem. It is rare to find a written story about hawk; however she is understood to be a protector in oral traditions. The Crow is often seen to be either a close associate of the Trickster and sometimes the trickster himself or herself. Crow is notorious for shirking her/his responsibility and interfering in the natural development of people.

If I never saw the Hawk how would I know the Crow? When I think of the Crow I remember lying in the grass in the "big sky country" musing about the clouds - clouds you could almost touch. In this solitary place, in the tranquility of the rainbow of colour, I imagine birds, and ships, and elephants only to have these images scattered by the caw of the Crow. As I look from the images of the clouds, I see one Crow, then two, and three, and then four basking in the sunlight with their crescendo of cawing breaking the moment of imagination and creation. Crows, the intruders in this lived experience, have forever etched and shaped the memory of that tranquil moment and changed its possibilities.

> **The video rewinds** to another moment in primary school.
>
> I'm in primary school. For the next class I'm to read a chapter out of the French reader to the class. I'm excited about doing it because I'm adopted into an Irish-French family and know I could get a lot of help at home to prepare for the task. I studied for several days with the help of my adoptive family and could almost say the chapter without reading it. I'm standing in front of the class and start to read. I'm interrupted by the teacher and told that I have pronounced the word with the accent in the wrong place. Throughout the whole reading the teacher continues to correct me as I read. Each time I'm interrupted the reading becomes progressively worse. I feel like closing the book and returning to my desk, but deep within me I wouldn't let her win. I'm so embarrassed. I finish the reading and return to my desk. I close the book and vow never to open it again and to find ways to avoid ever having to read aloud.

What should have been a moment of accomplishment was stolen and transformed into a shaming experience that continues to trigger those memories and feelings every time I have to read aloud from a written text. In my childhood I refused to read or speak French ever again to protect my dignity. The impact was so significant that when my adopted mother talked to me in French, although I understood what she said, I would never answer in French but acknowledge her in English. This episode changed forever the possibility that I would learn French in a home or school environment as a child.

I hear the screech of the Hawk. My eyes are drawn to a faint speck within the clouds, transfixed with the delta dive, swooping, gliding, the ascent and the ever-widening spiral dance into the heavens. The moment of creation, of imagination, of broadening vision, a timeless connection (*Nagi*) to the spirit (*Niya*) to the heavens and to the earth (*Maka*). The moment that restores the spirit! A balance! The harmony of becoming human!

The Crows are masters of illusion, “shape shifters” of culturally prescribed knowledge, keepers of all “sacred laws” of cultural conformity, ecological scavengers of non-conformist carcasses.[30] Yet Crow knows no other way than the role of the trickster that hides deeper understandings. The Crow is the teacher for those who wonder, or those who look for a deeper meaning of appropriateness in relationships other than those indicated by the prescriptions created in human culture. The Crow’s voice awakens one to issues that seem out of harmony, out of balance or can be felt as negative human behaviour *(Wiohpeyata)* that merge light and darkness, seeing both inner and outer reality.

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[30] “Developing responsible self-discipline is not difficult, but it cannot be done in a society in which equality is perceived as sameness and conformity. Sitting Bull, looking with disdain at the white man’s educational style, remarked that “It is not necessary that eagles be crows,” in Vine Deloria, Jr., Spirit and Reason: The Vine Deloria, Jr., Reader (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 1999), 51; *Red Earth White Lies,* Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1997; see also *God is Red: A Native View of Religion* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 1994); Geertz, C. *The Interpretations of Cultures.* (New York: Basic Books, 1973),
“From the Native’s Point of View: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding,” in *Meaning of Anthropology.* Eds., K. Basso, and H. Selby (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1976).

For those who wonder, the Crow is the shape shifter of old realities and of becoming your future self.

When I think of the Hawk, guardian of our spirit, messenger of the sky, protector and visionary with keen eyesight that teaches us to soar, to swoop, to glide upon the currents, to ascend in an ever-broadening spiral into the eye of the hurricane of becoming. She teaches me of *Niya* the power of my capacity to perceive, receive, and use my abilities. The shrillness of the Hawk's call pierces the state of unawareness (*Wiyoheyapata*), and asks one to seek a deeper and broader understanding of the guardianship of the spirit. The red tail is symbolic of the guardian responsibility for the protection of childhood visions, empowerment and fulfilment (*Ito kagata).* It is tied to the archetypal forces that teach beauty and harmony in moderation and holds the key to higher levels of consciousness *(Makpiyah ate and Ina maka*). The red tail reflects an intensity of physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual energy. It is the catalyst, stimulating hope and new ideas, honouring stories and reflecting a need to be open to the new, showing ways to help teach others to be open to the new. The Hawk's cry is a sign to beware or be aware, of these responsibilities. She is the messenger of our "Earth Walk", the "Red Road", archetypal connection to our grandfathers *(Tankashilah*) and grandmothers *(Unci*) – the restorer of our spirit. I remembered the naming, the coming home, the Seneca and Sioux people(s) who accepted this "mixed blood" as a brother. I remember my ordeal, my crying for a vision *(Hanblecheya)* and the dance with Hawk.

That piercing eye that penetrated my being, *Nagi* and *Niya* directs my journey, my wondering about shaping. I began to realise that the experience I named shaming suppresses explanations of being that consider power relations, racism, abuse and poverty and it underpins the symptoms of a more deeply rooted institutionalised social shaping. It silences other ways of knowing and attempts to limit our possibilities. I now see racism and abuse as manifestations of "institutionalised shaming," the underlying mechanism of shaping that covers other ways of knowing and impoverishes the spirit of the fledgling Hawk. Those Hawk moments become buried beneath the Crow feathers of prescribed knowledge.

Pages 23-28 have been removed due to copyright restrictions. Source: Dominque Legros, Tommy McGinty's Northern Tutchone "Indians Get to be too Many for Crow," Story of Crow: A First Nation Elder Recounts the Creation of the World (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1999), 173-178.

The Crow's Nest

I've returned to the nest of the Crow. I am older now, more Hawk than Crow. I wonder about shaping, that happens in "educational" contexts, shaping that threads story lines of conformity into my process of becoming, smothering other ways of knowing and our fledgling possibilities. How do we re-store and re-story Hawk moments in the institutionalised process of education?[33] As I struggle to find the words, to paint the picture, the Crow emerges as the remembered rejections of composition, as the authority of conformity to prescribed presentation, burying the creative metaphors that reach inside and outside, and connect to Hawk moments. Yet I find solace in the metaphors and stories of others. The telling, honouring and remembrance re-stores those Hawk moments that bring meaning to a life lived. **My video-memoir rewinds** to my meeting with *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew.*

> *My Cree name is Mountain Woman (Asiniwaciaw Iskwew) and my Sioux name Shunka Wakan Skawin. I am a fluent Cree speaker and writer and a proud descendant of Poundmaker. My grandmother was a good medicine woman who taught her gifts to my father and one of his brothers. I am on the healing path and exploring all the different parts of my historical ethnic background. I have four grown children and seven grandchildren.*

We smudged in her way; the air was filled with the sweet smell of sweetgrass and as I watched her smudge I see the day we went and picked that sweetgrass. With Hawk eyes, as I think about that day now, the picking, smudging, and the talking were the inter-connected moments in the living and the telling of a life lived. They were moments of preparation for the telling of a story from the heart. The setting of the moment for respect, responsibility, reciprocity, reverence, wholism, inter-relatedness, and synergy of storytelling. As I re-live the moment of the picking, the long drive to an ancestral land, sounds of drumming from the CD player, the shedding of the trappings of the city, I become immersed in the feelings, the knowing, excitement, and longing for this ancient rite. I smudge and make my offerings for permission to participate in this sacred act, for meditation, for re-enactment, and for re-discovery that there are more important things than punching clocks, competing for status, and gathering wealth. It is hard work in the broiling sun and yet the day has serenity about it. The feel of the grass, the smell of clean air, the icy taste of the cold water from the underground spring and the sounds take me to another place. A place of tranquility. There is hardly a word spoken, it is about Mother Earth and our connection to our primordial being. It is about learning and feeling that connection again, not just picking sweetgrass. It is about living and living things and relationships and shared experience.

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[33] See the Epilogue for a discussion of narrative inquiry and storying.

As I reminisced, **the video fast forwards.** I understood this moment of smudging was different, another temporal moment of understanding that positioned me in a ritual bonding as brother and sister, a kinship, a remembrance. My attention was drawn to the braids of the sweetgrass, the braiding together of mind, body, and spirit.

I'm immersed in the scent, the enveloping smoke, the doing, the act of conditioning attentiveness to this moment of disclosure and separateness of other thoughts and other mindfulness. It is a moment of bringing together of our minds, bodies, and spirits in a braid of respect, honour and protective strength for each other. It is an eternal bonding of story, experience and becoming human beings. As these thoughts were swirling around in my mind, she started her story.[34]

> *Um.. I went to boarding school when I was seven and a half years old. I was picked up by Indian Affairs and taken to ..um.. boarding school, my mother was able to come with me. And she stood at .. [sigh].. at the bottom of the stairs while .. [voice breaks].. I was taken kicking and screaming into the .. [pause].. up the stairs into the building. I knew dat she was leaving me..uh. I bit the principal, ..uh..on the hand, .. [sniffle].. I guess dat was .. um ..[sniffle].. dat's one thing, I've always been .. always been kind of proud of dat at least I fought all the way to ..um.. to this place. [sniffle] um.. After that I had nightmares most of my..[sniffle].. um.. life ..um.. as soon as I ..um.. as far back as I can remember from dat boarding school experience I had nightmares all the time. [spoken very rapidly with virtually no pause between words]. [sigh] But I also use to have..uh..uh.. a dream of a white horse all the time and I, I use to dream of snakes crawling all over .. [sniffle].. all over me and then ..um .. but these were two different dreams, they weren't in the same dream. [spoken very softly][sigh] But then I'd have nightmares and then I'd ..um..I started shutting down after about six months in the .. [spoken very softly].. in the boarding school and I stayed shut down most of my adult life right through my whole life I guess. Shut down my feelings, shut down everything and ..um.. we were told not to speak our language, not ..[long pause] ..um.. [sigh].. that anything ..[deep breath].. that had to do with being Native was a handicap and dat was something dat had to be overcome ..[pause].. the more you ..re..repressed it the more you changed ..uh.. to being non-Native, the more you were ..uh.. ..uh.. a*

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[34] Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's story was tape recorded, transcribed by me and returned to her for verification and acceptance by her. I attempted to capture her voice and feeling. I made no attempt to edit or present her words in English grammar. I wanted to honour her words and voice. I also had the text examined by Dr. A. Palmer, a linguistic anthropologist with regards to form and she stated the form was appropriate for the discipline. What was most gratifying was Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's comment that it really sounded like she was speaking.

success, you were deemed a success ..[spoken softly] .. there was a lot of .. [long pause]..[spoken very softly].. physical violence associated with this..um.. from the nuns and to..[long pause]..[cough]..to.. ..uh.. to re-enforce these rules.

I read a lot, it was my way of ..uh.. dat was my way of escaping ..[sigh].. my life was to read a lot and I still do, dat was one good thing I guess dat came of this life. And then for about six months...two months out of the whole year I went back to my my ..uh.. reserve at home and I was still able to maintain my language right through ..uh.. ..[pause].. right through ..uh.. ..um.. it seemed dat the more you, they ..[pause].. fight I mean not fight but the more you oppress native people the more the ..[long pause].. I guess, its passive resistance to change or to assimilation, you just keep on keep ..uh.. hanging on to these things dat you have had because these things are life, you understand dat they are life, even as a child I remember asking questions that ..[sniffle].. and I was told these were life for us, for native people and dat this was something ..uh.. in the school experience something dat had to be ..[pause].. Dat had to be ..uh..uh.. endured or dat had to happen because it was law for us to go to school we didn't realise everybody has a choice of where to go to school, we just figured dat this was something and this was .. I was the third generation to go to boarding school. My grandfather was in boarding school, my mother was in boarding school, and I was in boarding school and when you're in boarding school you have no experience of being a parent so there is no, no dat's three generation of no ..uh.. ..[pause].. of trial and error.. of parenting by trial and error ..um.. so I, I ..uh.. passed on a lot of the ..uh.. dysfunctionality I learn by living in two worlds and two langu ..[deep breath].. because its ..uh.. I passed on a lot of ..a lot of what I learned to my kids. Umm.. one of them was ..and there's no, no experience with parenting and there is also no experience with being with ..uh.. in a social environment with the opposite ..uh.. sex, we were segregated and any, any kind of ..um ..[pause] .. any kind of ..um.. um.. communication between the two was forbidden. So there was no experience at all to start ..uh.. ..uh.. to relate to a man and then when I went home my parents were separated so there was no experience there either. In relating to a man ..[sniffle].. so that when I did have that freedom I didn't know how to handle dat either and then ..[deep breath].. and I did grow up in a violent home.

Uh.. when I was small I remember running off to the bushes with my grandmother ..uh.. because they were ..uh.. people drinking at my house ... at my house and my brothers and sisters would pass ..uh.. [pause] .. would pass ..uh.. bedding out the window and we would make a bed in the bushes ..[sigh]..uh.. and take my ..our grandmom *out there and come in for food when we had to ..[softly spoken]..[sniffle].. and moving again, and because there was no experience, I, I saw ..uh.. ..uh.. ..um.. I, I ended up in a relationship that wasn't healthy for me and I was ..uh.. addicted to those kinds of relationships for a long time in my life until I began my healing process. My kids have also been .. uh.. have had that learned behaviour of addictive relationships ..[sigh].. [spoken very softly] .. and they, they've started their healing process too now since I've ..[pause].. started. And they didn't realise dat the relationship dat they were being ..uh.. getting into ..uh.. were the same types. They hated that in me until I, I changed, and then they started changing too.*

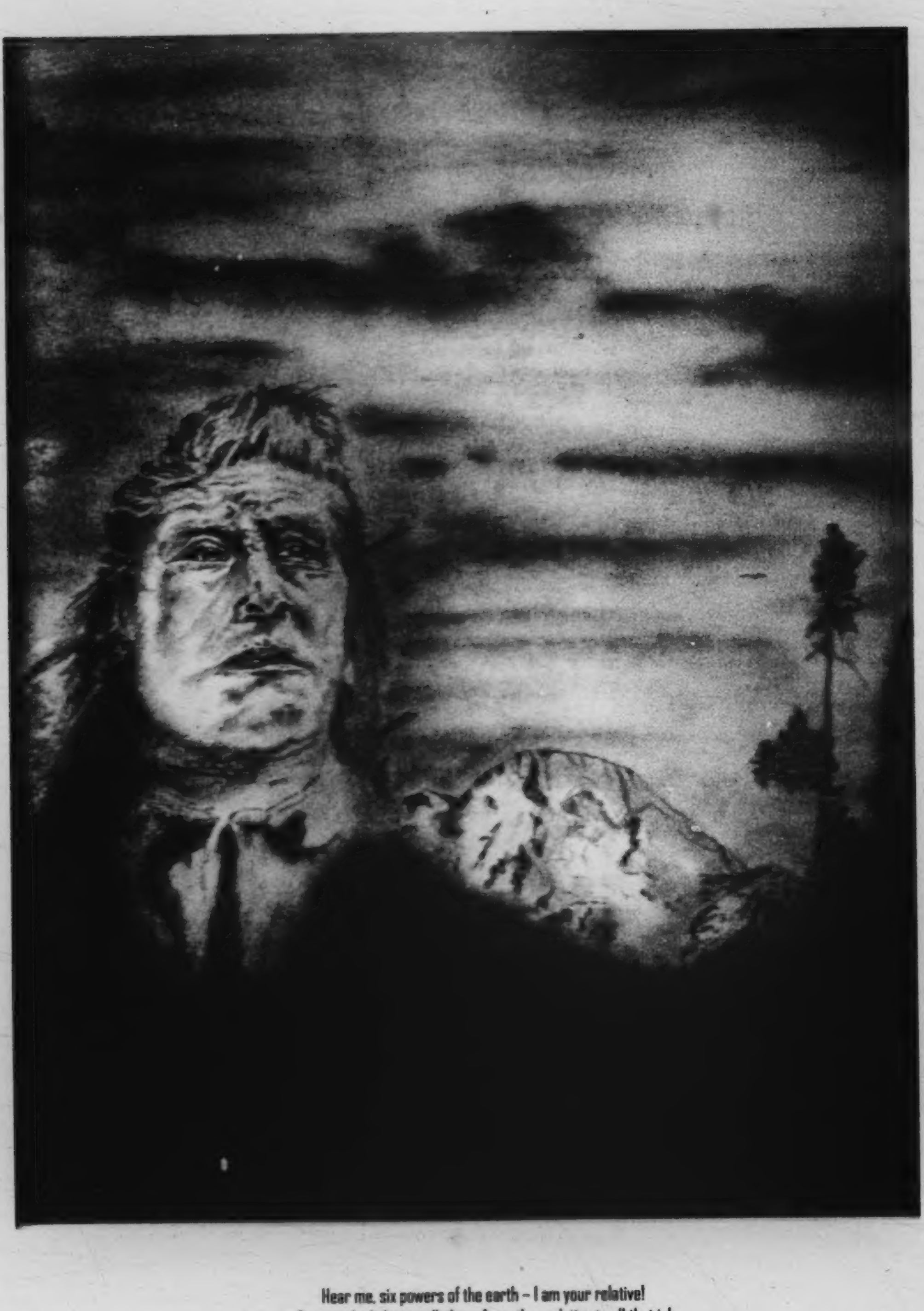
So school was very ..uh.. regimental ..uh.. it was a shameful experience because you were taught never to be in ..uh.. dat your culture was ..uh.. was worth shit, your language was forbidden, your ..um.. your ..um.. spiritual experience was ..[deep breath].. was evil. Dat the only way to .. in order.. for salvation was to .. and dat salvation was for an after life you don't know exists and you were taught as a little girl that ..um.. dat experience, dat ..um.. experience you have with a creator is an evil thing and the only way to change .. to save yourself, was to reject all dat you were ... at home everything dat you loved you had to reject. [sigh] And dat included .. uh.. furr.. because you couldn't differentiate between the ..um.. philosophy and ..uh ..[pause].. and the person, at lot of times dat meant ..ta.. rejecting the person that taught you dat philosophy that was shameful of course. So .... I and you couldn't change that love you felt for those, those people who taught you your Native background at home and then you were taught at school that you have to reject that, dat is evil because you were going to burn in hell forever and ..[pause].. and at that time there was a big, big ..uh.. ..uh.. ..uh.. mass hysteria about attack from Russia ..[smile and jovial voice].. and they use to scare the kids at school like you could die at any time, like the the planes could come at night ..uh.. and ..uh.. wipe you out, right now! And if you don't straighten up and start thinking like you, you could burn in hell forever, tomorrow, like starting tomorrow if ..uh.. like so there was kindda of choose now! Today! Or ..ah.. be lost forever it could be tomorrow, it could be right .. like the apocalypse could come tomorrow and you have to do your ..uh.. make your choice right now! And you have to do the penance for .. you also have to do penance for the way you use to live .. you live ..ah.. when you are eight years old like telling you things like that was so awful. Um ..And these were Catholic ..um.. nuns that were telling us, Catholic teachers, Catholic priests. There was some people, ..[pause][sniffle].. there was girls that disappeared ..uh.. ..um.. during the day, to like to the priest's room ..[sniffle].. and the *nuns, like they would go through the nuns, they asked the nuns to send these two girls and the nuns would send them off. We didn't know like ..um.. we thought they were being rewarded for something. I don't know what happened ..ah.. ..[long pause].. [the voice was very subdued].. they would come .. they got a lot of extra ..um.. ..[long pause].. privileges and extra ..uh.. trips ..uh.. extra ..uh.. candy and stuff ..[long pause].. and they, they never shared what their experience was they just hung around in a clique together and they were the ones that got all ..[sniffle].. the ..um.. ..[long pause].. good stuff.*

But my ..um.. there was so much teaching that I missed out of .. with my grandmother. My grandmother was a medicine person, we went .. when I was small I use to go on herb, herb ..uh.. rides with her, when on a wagon with my grandpa sometimes we would go to the sandhills, sometimes we would go to the swamp, sometimes we would go to the forest but it was always for digging up roots, for picking .. um.. medicines and dat and dat really ..[sigh].. I associate, ..[voice breaks].. I associated that with evil so I never learnt what I was suppose to learn. That was my legacy, I was suppose to learn dat, as the oldest person. There was ..uh.. in my family, my, my, ..[pause].. and there was a white horse that use to come to me in my dreams, and there was a white horse my grandma use to keep on the south wall all the time, a beaded horse that had been in our family for generations ..[sigh].. because I rejected that ..um.. teaching she gave that horse to someone else for safe keeping, she said, someone will come and get one day. [sigh] And I forgot about that white horse in my dreams until about ..um.. a couple of years ago and now I have been exploring that dream since then. [deep breath] But I didn't even remember about that white horse or the dream until I started learning about ..um.. the.. the horses in, that are represented, that represent the directions in the Native ..uh.. ..uh.. worldview and white horse is from the south, the one that nurtures, the one that keeps you safe ..uh.. So I guess that horse was there for me to ..uh.. at a time when my life was in chaos, [sigh] my life has been in chaos, most of life, I learnt to repress my feelings ..[softly spoken][a].. when I became an adult I chose an abusive relations, I married into it, I ..uh.. left eventually, but I, I was still drowning my sorrows, my my feelings, stuffing my feelings through smoking, drinking, and then one day I ..uh.. I, I was paralysed, I went into the hospital paralysed ..[pause].. my family came into the hospital and told me what are you doing laying down. What are you doing laying there! My cousin told me, he says You come home and heal. I said Wayne, [not the researcher] How! and he said, I send ..uh.. my brother to come and get you tomorrow, he said, You come home and heal. So the next day his brother come and got me. I was ..um.. I had been.. the *doctors didn't know what had happened to me. My family doctor was horrified. So when da.. my cousin came and picked me up and ..uh.. ..[pause].. to me to the reserve where they had ..uh.. Elders and my relatives. I have .. I am lucky to have so many relatives ..[sigh].. my relatives were there waiting for me and everything was prepared for the sweat lodge ..[spoken softly].. and everyone prayed for me in the sweat lodge there was an Elder da helped me there, ..[sniffle].. and I had to get .. uh.. I had to go in to the sweat.. with the .. on my elbows I couldn't .. I was paralysed from the waist down. I was suppose to go to four sweats, I healed .. I started healing after the first sweat by the third sweat I was walking already ..[pause].. and I started ..uh.. a teaching job up north and ..uh.. ..[long pause].. I started walking, ..[pause].. my first step was ..uh.. everyone was invited I was in ..uh.. for supper and I was invit ..uh.. I started to take my first step ..[deep breath].. ..[sniffle]..so my cousin had a big lunch ..uh.. big supper for me and invited all my relatives and I walked in there on two.. took my first three steps into the room and I, I fell into a chair. Everybody was clapping for me like crazy, like they do for babies when they take their first step ..[laugh].. From then I started walking, like I was falling into closets and stuff because I couldn't control where I was going at first and then ..[sniffle].. I had a garden, I'd run down stairs and wherever fell in the garden I would plant something and that's where I'd stay until I came back in, then I'd ..um.. After I started walking I returned to my life of chaos and then I lived that life for a couple of years and then when I did go in to my fourth sweat then the spiritual healing came in. So that was a bonus. Everyone was praying for my physical healing and then the spiritual healing was .. ah.. the bonus and ..[deep breath].. I've been on that journey for quite a while now. I had ..uh ..[long pause].. my children are so happy with the change that they have started their healing process too and they have made a conscious effort to stop the cycles in their generation. I guess I started ..um.. ..[pause].. recognising them in mine and because ..[sniffle].. I remembered when my mom tried to quit drinking. [pause] She ..uh.. couldn't understand why ..uh.. she wanted to quit drinking so bad and she couldn't, she didn't understand the cycles and how enmeshment works. Like she would work on one but there were so many things involved in her life, she thought it was just a matter of quitting! [long pause] I was lucky I had a lot of teachers in my life. I have been talking about my experience, with like education for ..[sniffle].. I guess from .. although I did go to school I went to boarding school and then I, I .. went to boarding school until grade nine and then when .. I came out I went to a regular school system ..[sniffle].. I couldn't handle the freedom of being in the ..ah.. charge of my own life. I had been institutionalised right to grade nine so ..[sniffle].. when I went to grade ten in a in a regular school* *in ..ah.. North Battleford ..uh.. within a year I was living with a guy. I didn't know how to .. I didn't have that relationship ..[sigh].. ..[deep breath].. how to handle a relationship so it just went really fast right away, so I ended up ..ah.. marrying tha.. a man and having kids and then .. it was a violent relationship and he wouldn't let me return to school. So I ended up working ..[sniffle].. and then I went ..ta.. we separated, I left him then I went to ..ta.. univer .. in went back to ..[sniffle].. University. [very softly spoken] I, I at one point I had, I had gotten my ..[sniffle].. I went to night school while I was working and gotten my classes through night school and then I did ..uh.. then I went to University. I was still living that life of chaos I had ..um.. there were so many kids there! There were ..um.. six thousand I think natives registered at that ..uh.. the University so there was always, if you wanted to be in that life there was ..uh.. so many kids in town that you could just make your rounds all day. [spoken softly] So I ..um.. I did manage to get a scholarship one year ..[pause].. that, I was lucky there was a ..um.. there was a focus, they had a Native, a Native education program where they taught a lot of Native ..uh.. Native stuff. Native focus, Native in ..ah.. curriculum teaching you to focus on the different teaching .. learning styles and teaching styles of Native people and da how to recognise that and how it it ... teaching you that Native ... that kids fail because they they're not .. the teacher and the student are not connected they're .. uh.. have different teaching styles, they have different learning styles, so if they're not connected den the child is not going to learn. It's also a matter of understanding what is relevant to the child's well-being so ..uh.. in order to understand what is important to them in their world, in their worldview you have focus on that and use that as ..uh.. use their knowledge base as a teaching tool. Rather than teaching them what you think .. or the majority of, of society. Listen to them you just teach them what they, they want to know, teach them what they have to know, like in order to be functional, like the core subject areas but use their interests and your worldview as their interest and what they consider to be relevant. Use those as tools, as teaching tools to enlarge their knowledge base.*

Um .. living in two worlds I guess I thought everybody had to do that because my parents and my ..uh.. grandparents they thought, like they were so ..uh.. acquiescent about me being taken away from them and they .. it was so hard on both of us on all of us like, it was hard on me, and I was third generation so that they had been through the experience, ..[deep breath].. my grandparents, my mom and then myself, so this was a way of life that was excepted. So they ... it was something that had to be ..uh.. ..uh.. that you had to live with, .. [sigh].. so you go to school you learn one thing and, and it .. School *work was easy for me because I read so much I guess. My mother read a lot and we learned to read, in my family there are about ..uh.. ten, ten kids out of those ten kids there are about seven of us that are avid readers we trade books by the boxes ..ah.. even the ones that didn't go to .. uh.. University. But ..uh.. so you keep going back, back and forth between the two worlds and some how the, the ... you get the feeling that what you learned from the Native stuff you learned from my grandparents and the Elders ...[deep breath]... that is something you have to hide, but you need it for life, but you have to hide it because its ..uh.. ..[spoken very softly].. no one wants to see in da White society, nobody wants to hear about it ..[sniffle].. and yet you understand that it is life giving for you but you hide it so there is a shame base there that was built into us for a long ..uh.. from the time we're small, but you also understand that you needed the education in order to get a job. In order to get out of that poverty you were living in because .. [voice fades away] .. because ... talking to that ..uh.. lady from the violence centre yesterday about our childhoods ... We use to live right by the highway, I said. There was a whole bunch of us kids running around and people, even from the reserve use to drive by like, they would crane their necks from one direction over to here where they could look into the window and right down to the ..uh.. until they could look into our house more because we didn't have any curtains, I told her. We were a side show in our reserve and nobody ... none of the kids were allow to come and play with us in our, at our house because we were ... there was so much alcoholism in our family that they ..um.. kids were not safe to come to our house I guess. She was telling me, that's the same as us but at least we had curtains, she said. We had plastic curtains that use to ... mom kept cutting them, they kept getting shorter until they can't get any shorter, then you get a new pair [laughter]. But ..ah.. so we were ashamed based ..uh.. in the educational system but we were still treated like that by our own community and ..[sniffle].. out of all of us like all ten of us there is ..uh.. ..uh.. two that are .. [sniffle].. practising alcoholics right now, the rest have a trade they have always had a trade because we couldn't ..uh.. go anywhere but up! We had to hang in there to get out of that poverty we had to get our education, get a degree, get a job and all my brother and sisters ... my mom died very young, she was only forty, forty-two when she died and our ... some of my brothers and sisters were still young and my grandmother took over the kids again. We all understood that we had to ..uh.. we couldn't depend on her, she was old, she was sixty already in her late sixties when she started looking after the kids and ..um.. she would never live forever. She couldn't live forever so we had ..[spoken very softly].. so we had to learn to be ..uh.. independent, we had to learn to ... and we always taught to be independent anyway because of the* *drinking situation we started changing roles from an young age. So we learned to adapt, we were resilient ..uh.. because we were survivors from being in an alcoholic home, being in a boarding school situation we became survivors ..[deep breath].. the very thing that closes you up ..uh.. ..uh.. ..uh.. spiritually, and ..uh.. and ..uh.. heart wise that is the very thing that helps you survive in the, in the education system to ..uh.. help you achieve.*

When I was ..um.. dragged up those stairs ..um.. in boarding school, I was thinking about boarding school, dragged up those stairs I didn't know a word of English. I have ..um.. so right from day one in the classroom I learned to translate my thoughts from Cree to English and then process my thoughts. So that was ..ah.. something I had to do in order to learn, in order to because I didn't want to ... there was one girl in the class that couldn't do it she was in that, in that ..um.. ..um.. kindergarten class for four years before she could learn the language and I didn't want to be stuck in there for four years so I learned how to do it right fast and then I kept it up right through. But most of the time especially when you start hitting ..um.. ..um.. high school, they didn't have junior high, but when you start hitting high school you can just ... there's total confusion. Why am I learning this, like you have no use for what they are teaching you, like why would I use, why, why would people have to know, like ..um.. how many people one king went to bed with, like in another country, and dates there were so many wars that were fought and you had to know the dates. Like 1500, 1600 this war was fought, that war was fought ..[deep breath].. then I remember sitting one time in history class they were talking about ..um.. Mesopotamia, and I had such a hard time with that word, I had no concept of where it would be ..like geography, modern geography I had an idea of what that was, but ..uh.. ancient places for me like that ..and I had to know that in order to pass grade nine. I had no idea of where in the world it would have been anyway .. if I had known the ... anyway why would have to know about that, it didn't make sense. And I just couldn't understand about Pharaohs, what does that have to do with me [laughter] where they lived and what they did, but I still struggled I still knew that I had to know that in order to pass. I was only doing that, you know, because I knew I need my education in order to have a job. So you adapt, you keep adapting! And you keep adapting! You keep adapting, I thought there was no other way, like ..[sniffle].. ..um.. you don't question, boarding school, when you are brought up in an institution you don't question the way things are suppose to be and then I had to take dramatisation in ..um.. grade nine. I had to sit there for an hour and pretend I was a cap in a box, I couldn't understand why, you know, why does that have to be like, a cap in a box for me has no experie... I have no .. like.. that is not in *my ..um.. world. That's one example of how they could use ..um.. child experience, and that was way off in left field, I don't ... and there was only one girl that got off that, why put thirty-five girls through that, just one girl connected and that was in grade 9. And ..um.. like today there is, there is some ..um.. some ..non ..um.. non-Native teachers in .. uh.. reserve schools, ..[sniffle].. but at least they're there, they, they can understand what the ..[pause].. worldview ..uh.. little bit and they ..ah.. attend the cultural events they understand the powwow, the drum, singing what it means .. how important it is to Native people and they understand how .. uh.. important it is for them to connect it is not as ..uh.. it is not as ..oh.. can see off the reserve, but in the reserve schools you can see the non-Native teachers really struggling to ..uh.. to ..uh.. understand that the kids ..ah.. and I think that if you have a lot of extra curricular activities in that, in that deal with the importance of ceremony and dance for Native people .. uh.. the teachers will be able to understand the spirituality that permeates our whole ..uh.. the whole life style of Native people from one end to another. And how everything is interact.. interrelated and then ..the teaching comes easy, once you understand that then the teaching comes easy ..da.. ..like.. ..uh.. if you have no contact with your students then you don't care ..like.. you just teach them the way you were taught. You push your curriculum! That's all that is important is that curriculum is delivered by the end of the year, that contract is fulfilled that's it!*

I went to, I went to school in a boarding school, my husband .. I was in a boarding school my husband was in a day school on the reserve. The boarding schools were run by Catholic school system and the day schools run by an Anglican churches the difference was that the boarding schools taught the child to reject their ..uh.. Native ..uh.. ..um.. ..[pause].. detribalize, that was the word it was, that was used in policies was to teach a child to reject their culture. The day schools taught the parents, involved their parents in the school system and taught them to ..um.. teach their children to reject.. so they taught the adults to reject their chil.. ..uh.. ..[sniffle].. choose Christianity reject their culture ..[sniffle].. and teach the child so that there was ..ah.. focus on the child in ..da .. boarding school system and the focus was on the parents in the day school system. I ended up with my husband who was in the day school system and I was in the boarding school system. My husband ..[pause].. use to laugh at me, use to make fun of my grandma. My grandma was a healer, she was a herbalist and ..uh.. my husband use to make fun of my grandma, he use to call her the witch ..[sniffle].. and we had many fights over that because I won't ..um.. I won't let him ..uh.. put down my grandmother like that. I won't let him make fun of her and sometimes they would escalate to a physical level, where we were *slugging it out, but .. He was so totally ..uh.. convinced that being White was ..ah.. was ..ah.. better than being a Indian, in fact he use to make fun of the Indian culture. [sniffle] To this day my ..uh.. he, he started teaching my grandchildren that sweetgrass was ..um.. was, was, evil that it was something you don't practice, he won't let them go to powwows when they were ...until I talked to my daughter, I says "You cannot ever separate your culture from your ..um.. who you are no matter who tells you" and now grandchildren are taught that, just because an adult tells you something doesn't mean that it is always right and now my grandchildren just love powwow music. And but.. he was just so totally, totally ..uh.. ..uh.. ..[spoken quietly].. been brainwashed, his mom was brainwashed and he was brainwashed, the day schools were so much ..uh.. effective in carrying out that detribalisation. Um.. because there was more abuse I guess in ..ah.. in .. ah.. boarding school system so there was more passive resistance and, and if you're doing it in the community level and going right into the community it was more effective. Passive resistance is even though you're not overtly resisting anything you're just ..uh.. just, just acting .. uh.. it looks like you're accepting this policy, you will never accept it in your heart. That's just like in the ..um.. same way with the ..um.. ..um.. .. [pause].. lot of these policies by Indian Affairs that were aimed towards ..uh.. ..uh.. ..[sniffle].. making you ..uh.. assimilate! All these ... because we, we .. when you're born Indian you're born political I think. You're a political animal because that's the way of life for you ..uh.. resistance is a way of life and if its passive you save your energy for the big fights ..nu.. ..la.. . But you hang on to what you have even if you .. they think.. or you act as if you're accepting.*



Hear me, six powers of the earth – I am your relative!
Give me the light to walk the soft earth, a relative to all that is!
Give me the eyes to see, the strength to understand, and the heart to feel, that I may be like you.
With your energy only can I face the darkness.

The Way of the Hoop

The East

> The East (*Wiyoheyapata*) is the direction from where the light comes and the colour is yellow. It is the light that takes us out of darkness, which illuminates our understanding. It takes us from unawareness to awareness for those who seek to understand. As the sun rises it is the metaphor for gradual process of awareness. Awareness that all things are related and we have a responsibility to do no intentional harm and that our actions (physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional) can create harm as well as peace and harmony.

I walk the sacred hoop (*Cangleska waken*). From the East there is awareness, which is nurtured in the South to facilitate change in the West and the responsibility to act in the North. The experience of acting creates a new awareness that is nurtured to facilitate change and the responsibility to act again. So the journey continues as we seek to become. We are guided by our Grandfathers' Spirits *(Nagi Niya Tankashilah)* and our Grandmothers' Spirits *(Nagi Niya Unci)* that require us as people to look inward, look outward, look backward, and look forward to our becoming human beings that respect and are responsible for all living things on our earth walk and do no intentional harm cognitively, physically, spiritually, or emotionally. I make this journey by revisiting my own experiences and experiences of others through words, images, visioning, dreaming, and literature review.

As I re-visit, re-read and re-live the moments of *Asinwaciaw Iskwew's* story, in many ways I relive my own. I think about my own "Earth Walk" the "Red Road" and my own healing journey. I think about her words that parallel my experience: *"Physical violence from the nuns ...to re-enforce rules, Catholic ..um.. nuns that were telling us, Catholic nuns, Catholic teachers, Catholic priests, school experience was something that had to be endured because it was law, school was very regimental ... it was a shameful experience,"* and how we were both institutionalised. Our long journey back, to night school, working and then university. Yet carrying the memory of the *"shame [that was] built into us."*

With my grandfather's eyes, I see in our stories that there was no place on our school landscapes for children or for families. These stories are microcosms of people's histories, the visible shaming of generations of children that contrasts with today's larger educational context, one that expounds that educating is about meeting individual needs; yet implicit shaming continues to shape the context of embodied knowing. I thought about how, rather than surrender to this shaping, our bodies started to shut down, to resist, to become fragmented and we survived in our art and reading – **Don't you cry!** I thought about shared experiences where there was no opportunity to challenge the authority of the Nuns; "You don't question boarding school. When you are brought up in an institution you don't question the way things are." You live in fear of punishment without recourse. We know now from numerous studies and testimonies to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples[35] of the conditions and treatment of children in residential and day schools and of the scapegoating from responsibility for the treatment by some administrators and teachers of these institutions. Although several statements of reconciliation[36] have been given to indigenous peoples, the legacy of those institutions persists to the present.

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[35] R. Chrisjohn and S. Young, "The Circle Game: Shadows and Experiences in the Indian Residential School Experience" *A Report to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (Canada, October, 1994). Some residential schools did not close until the 1990s, "former students concluded in a 1965 Government consultation that the experiences of the residential school were really detrimental to the development of the human being" Aboriginal Healing Foundation. *The Healing has Begun* (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife, NT, 2002), 7; and M. Boldt, *Surviving as Indians: The Challenge of Self-government* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, 1994). For a discussion on violence in public schools see I. MacDonald, *A Definition of Violence*, Paper Presented to the Alberta Teachers' Association (Safe and Caring Schools Steering Committee, Edmonton, AB, Canada, 1997); and *School*

> Throughout the reunion – in intimate discussions in 'healing circles,' during the opening festivities, and in private conversations with other former students and outsiders – they complained of the rigidity, the harshness, and the coldness of life in a boarding institution operated by people who frequently did not appreciate or respect Indian ways. They bitterly recalled enforced attendance, non-Indian staff who denigrated Aboriginal culture and mistreated them, inadequate food and excessive chores, runaways and beatings, and, perhaps most persistently, the way in which their residential schooling experience at Shingwauk had failed to prepare them to be successful after they left school. Many of the returned students spoke of wasting years and decades in alcohol, drugs, and violence before they managed to put their lives back together, confront the pain that had been driving them to harm themselves, and get on with the business of living. Unspoken was the knowledge that people attending the reunion were the 'success stories'; among the absent were thousands who never overcame the pain and self-destruction.[37]

Violence: Administrative Leadership in Decision Making, (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1998).

[36] In 1999 the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs and several churches issued a Statement of reconciliation and acknowledged their responsibility for the treatment and conditions of residential schools.

[37] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 7-8; see also L. Bull, "Indian Residential Schooling: The Native Perspective," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 18 Supplement (1991): 3-63; C. Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver, BC: Tillacum Library, 1988); V. Kirkness, S. Bowman, *First Nations and School* (Toronto, ON; Canadian Education Association, 1992); D. Miller, C. Beal, J. Dempsey, W. Heber Eds., *The First Ones:Readings in Indian/Native Studies* (Craven, Saskatchewan: Saskatchewan Indian Federation College Press, Piapot Reserve, #75, 1987), and L. Shorten, *Without Reserve: Stories from Urban Natives* (Edmonton, AB: NeWest Publishers, 1991).

Yet some teachers abdicate their responsibility for the conditions and treatment of indigenous students, characterizing the schools as providing a superior learning environment:

> During the informal reminiscing on the first afternoon, a former missionary teacher spoke at length of what she regarded as the positive aspects of Indian residential schools. She suggested that boarding institutions had been selected to educate Native children because early missionaries recognized that the very best schools in the United Kingdom and Canada were private boarding schools. She spoke in patronizing language that assumed the superiority of Christianity and European learning. Implicit in many of her remarks was an apparent belief that the blessings of the Christian religion were such a boon to Native people that the residential school that was a means of promoting it had to have been a positive force.[38]

With Hawk eyes I see that we were taught to be ashamed. As fledgling Hawks before schooling we do not recall a sense of shame. I was shamed; we were shamed! I thought about of how *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew* knew who she was, knew her community and the attempts of residential schools to re-shape her, and about her journey to recover herself and her family. What is echoed by her story are the stories of countless others who were given up, taken, and abandoned and who seek to be re-united to their families and culture.[39] Her story mirrors that of some of my experiences and of those of us who were placed in foster care and orphanages.

> The troubles my siblings and I have suffered can only truly be understood in a cultural context, not just as a series of traumatic life events but as a deep spiritual estrangement from the complex of Sto:lo beliefs. As Sto:lo, we believe that

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[38] Over the past ten years, in informal conversations with distant relatives and clergy many justified their pedagogical practices in terms of historical context, religious salvation and middle class beliefs, J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 8. Also see M. Battiste and J. Barman, *First Nations Education in Canada* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 1995).

[39] S. Fournier and E. Crey, *Stolen from Our Embrace* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1997).

> our ancestors continue to play a role in our daily lives. In our society, when you are ill or feeling discomfort, you are described as being "Indian sick," which means that spiritual forces are at work in your life. In order to understand these forces, you must return to spiritual teachers. The elders believe the voices and spirits that non-native medical experts might diagnose as a profound mental illness are in fact an expression of the cultural estrangement so many of us suffered.[40]

With Hawk eyes I scan the images of my primary school experience for trickster moments of meaning about my own "Indian Sickness." I now wonder what the Grandfathers were telling me in the creation of that picture and why my painting was placed at the front of the class during the open house? I can see now the contradiction between the public humiliation and the displaying of my painting prominently at the front of the class. In hindsight I can only imagine the reasons. Sister Michael Joseph liked the painting and thought it was worthy of display? Perhaps in a subtle way she was apologizing and reaching out to make a connection she was unable or unwilling to do in a more formal way as the teacher? Or, maybe she was trapped in a culturally prescribed milieu that separated the child from the student and the student from the teacher. I wonder what the painting was meant to be. Were the grandfathers speaking to me through art about silencing conformity without recourse and this future journey? I thought of *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* words again, "Kids fail because they are not connected to the teacher." As a child and adult that moment of humiliation continued to build the wall of mistrust that we were never able to breach. That wall of mistrust of teachers persists to this day even as an adult. I did not realize then, I was the student and invisible as the child. I was to learn the role of the student[41] in that moment of humiliation. The Crow did not understand or value the picture and the emotions it evoked, the reciprocity was not there. I was the object of the lesson in two respects: on the one hand I did not complete the task of drawing geometrical forms as was expected and on the other hand I was the object lesson for the rest of the class that if one did not do as expected or directed they would be subject to the same kind of treatment.

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[40] S. Fournier and E. Crey, 44.

The reasons why the picture was hung at the front of the classroom was a wonder for many years yet I now think I understand that trickster moment: As I visualise that picture hanging there I feel its gaze, not of that warm caring place on a cold winter's day but, a reminder of that moment of humiliation and the consequence for not conforming to the role of the student. Anthropologist Jules Henry, in his analysis of American society, *Culture Against Man*, argues that the metamorphosis of the Self of the student is essentially a mechanical one that is described as "white noise." It is founded on the ability to learn several things at once. The tones of the teachers' voice, the ringing of bells, the posters invoking attitudes, and so on are messages that children pick up in the form of background noise. This white noise permeates the system and results in the subtle and relentless ways that schools socialize children. It was in a sense a poster for the whole class and each day it hung there it evoked feelings and memories of that shaming episode habituating passive and submissive obedience to the authority of the teacher.

It is argued by Sandro Contenta, and others that, "… that school metamorphoses the child, giving it a Self the school manage, and then proceeds to minister to the Self it has made."[42] Still being taught today in educational teachers' courses, is John Locke's notion of the nature of the child as *tabula rasa,* that a child's mind is like a blank tablet, upon which parents and teachers are responsible to write the appropriate social script on the child's mental slate as they develop towards adulthood. What is essential to this notion was the manipulation of the child's emotions. Locke writes as cited by Contenta, "Esteem and disgrace are, of all others, the most powerful incentives to the mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can get into children a love of credit, and an apprehension of shame and disgrace, you have … put into 'em the true principle."[43] The process for instilling the true principle is described by Horace Mann, as quoted by Contenta:

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[41] Harry L. Gracey, "Learning the Student Role: Kindergarten as Academic Boot Camp" in *Readings in*

> When a difficult question has been put to a young child, which tasks all his energies, the Teacher approaches him with a mingled look of concern and encouragement; he stands before him, the light and shade of hope and fear alternately crossing his countenance; and if the little wrestler with difficulty triumphs, the Teacher felicitates him upon his success; perhaps seizes, and shakes him by the hand in token congratulation; and, when the difficulty has been really formidable, and the effort triumphant, I have seen the Teacher catch up the child in his arms, and embrace him, as though he were not able to contain his joy … and all this has been done so naturally and so unaffectedly as to excite no other feeling in the residue of the children than a desire, by the same means, to win the same caresses …[44]

The children were to be loved into submission. Teachers would be able to control students with a glance, a gesture, or a tone of voice. This approach would help

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Introductory Sociology, D. Wrong and H. Gracey eds. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1967), 288-299.

[42] Sandro Contenta, *Rituals of Failure: What Schools Really Teach* (Toronto:Between the Lines, 1993), 28.

[43] Contenta, 12.

[44] Contenta, 19.

to develop children who disciplined and regulated themselves in search of approval. "In case this conditional love was not enough to keep students in line, it was backed up by the power of the rod".[45] A more contemporary term that captures the same idea is the hidden curriculum as described by Contenta as the seemingly immovable force through the structure and practice of schooling which constitutes a kind of arithmetic of socialization that tries to burrow deep inside the children and mold their very spirits. It is primarily an invisible operation that often suffocates the natural impulse to adventure and imposes behaviours of passivity and submission.[46]

The picture became part of the architecture of the classroom as a panoptic mechanism.[47] "The panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately, to induce a state of conscious and permanent visibility within the very structure of the institution so that it assures the automatic functioning of power."[48] It automatizes and de-individualizes power and the gaze to positions and structures such as the shaming episode with the picture, the principal's office, the teacher, and the pedagogical practices in schools. Even though the principal may not be in his/her office, the position implicit in the office of the principal produces a relation in which individuals are caught up or are unconsciously aware of the power emanating from the office itself. Hence "the hierarchical organization, of disposition of centres and channels of power, of definition of the instruments and modes of intervention of power become the power".[49] In a similar fashion the picture evoked particular emotions hence the picture became the power. It was an architecture that sent a message to those that witnessed the episode but was hidden from those who were not party to the event. It was about sustaining the authority and power of the teacher.

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[45] Contenta, 20.
[46] Contenta, 8.
[47] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison*. Alan Sheridan (Translator). (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 200.
[48] Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-187, 200*. (London: The Althouse Press, 1988), 200. Also see B. Curtis, D. Livingstone, and H. Smaller, *Stacking the Deck: The Streaming of Working-class Kids in Ontario Schools* (Toronto, ON: Our Schools/Ourselves Education Foundation, 1992); Egerton Ryerson, "The Nature and Importance of Education of Mechanics," reprinted in J.G. Hodgins, ed., *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1894-1910* (L.K. Cameron, 1910).

According to Bruce Curtis, the foundational pedagogical reform at the initial establishment of formal public education was about dispossessing students and school supporters of their power to direct physical violence at the teacher and their conventional powers to intervene in classroom practice. Teachers were empowered to use (and still are) the degree of force, which would be employed by a judicious parent in governing a child. The panoptic and hiddenness of its use is that its precise content, nature, and use of this power is left intentionally indefinite. This pedagogical practice transformed the structure of power relations to an inanimate institution. "Only where the subjects of education were deprived of access to the means of educational violence, and where a monopoly over the application of physical violence was accorded to teachers, could non-violent [(emotional)] means predominate in school government"[50] that induce a state of conscious and permanent invisibility within the very structure of the institution so that it assures the automatic functioning of power. A fear or dread at the very sight of the school or in this case the picture induced by the indefiniteness of the power of that institution.

The separation of teachers from the students and the general population was effected by the imposition of educational qualification to the position and the ongoing inflation of these qualifications. The ritual of teacher's examination, what Curtis calls, the "bureaucratic baptism of knowledge," in which teachers are publicly certified as "knowledgeable" and "moral" provided the basis for the separation of teachers from students and others.[51] "Established initially to work a series of moral and political transformations upon the body politic through the creation of particular educational identities, as people came to live these educational identities, specifically educational criteria came to be experienced as the true measure of self-worth".[52]

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[49] Curtis, 1988, 200.
[50] Curtis, 321.

The power at work in education is not adequately expressed as a model of bureaucratic administration. "This [is] what Foucault calls a normalizing power, a power whose efficacy resided in its transformation of the alien into the quotidian, the other into common sense [and] is most obviously visible in the centrality of habituation in pedagogical practice".[53] The intent was that the students and teacher habituate certain kinds of behaviour, obedience and submission at school, which they would exhibit outside of schools. Thus the efficacy of respect for authority, for instance, was not in the students' or teachers' cognitive appreciation of its moral correctness, but in their practical behaviour towards authority.[54] Habituation was to precede intellectual instruction and to form its basis by normalizing power by turning social and political relations into character structure.[55] It made power real by embodying power relations in students and teacher, which would eventually disappear and be lived as a sense of self, as an identity.[56] "Education was meant to inculcate forms of self which would then be lived as natural; social life would simply become education in action.[57]

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[51] Curtis, 377.
[52] Curtis, 374.
[53] Curtis, 377.
[54] Curtis, 377.
[55] Curtis, 377.

It became part of the hidden curriculum[58] that taught what were the values and the norms of the dominant culture. Yet the moment of the Hawk, the lay teacher's

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[56] Curtis, 377.

[57] Curtis, 377.

[58] The "hidden curriculum" of schools is through the structure and practice of schooling; it constitutes a kind of arithmetic of socialization that tries to burrow deep inside the children and mold their very spirits. It is primarily an invisible operation that often suffocates the natural impulse to adventure. Its lessons are passivity and submission (Sandro Contenta, *Rituals of Failure: What Schools Really Teach,* Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993) 8. It is a consciousness that is contrived, abstract and intended to shape the cognitive processes of the young. Hewitson describes these cognitive processes as the hidden curriculum evident in "TV advertisements which associate particular life-styles with the product being presented, not only the edifice but also the whole atmosphere of a cathedral, a bank," or a school "bear testimony to the pervasiveness and power of the hidden curricula. Learning the hidden curriculum is not the result of deliberate efforts on the part of learners, but is mainly inferred on their part. Such learning accrues over time as a seemingly inevitable consequence of continued exposure to delimited perceptions of reality. In this regard, it is something 'done to' learners, not something done with them or with their conscious assent" Mal. Hewitson, *The Hidden Curriculum* (Milton: Bayfield Printing, 1982) See Eric Margolis, M. Soldatenko, S. Acker and M. Gair, "Peekaboo: Hiding and Outing the Curriculum," *The Hidden Curriculum in Higher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2001) "some of the hidden curriculum may be intentionally hidden in plain sight, precisely so that it will remain undetected" (2) and M. Barrette, *Separate Realities: Native Post Secondary Education* (Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta, Unpublished MEd. Thesis, 1995). The concept of the hidden curriculum was first introduced in educational analysis by Philip Jackson, *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), 33. The hidden curriculum has been variously described; see Sandro Contenta, *Rituals of Failure: What Schools Really Teach* (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines, 1993) which describes the hidden curriculum as "a system that, through the structure and pedagogy of school, tries to shape the behaviour of students" (11). The purpose is to develop citizens that will willingly accept the status quo and this is accomplished by establishing school rituals that implicitly teach passivity and submission. These sentiments are supported in studies by Laureen Snider, "Commercial Crime," in *Deviance, Conformity and Control in Canadian Society*, Ed., Vincent F. Sacco, ed., (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1988), 231-283; Peter W., Cookson Jr., and Caroline Hodges Persell, *Preparing for Power: America's Elite Boarding Schools* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Valerie Polakow, *Lives on the Edge: Single Mothers and Their Children in the Other America* (Chicago: University Press, 1993); Jeanne H., Ballantine, *The Sociology of Education: A Systematic Analysis*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1997); Jean Anyon, *"Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work," Journal of Education* 162 (1980): 67-92. The hidden curriculum is seen as the transmission of cultural values and attitudes, such as conformity and obedience to authority, through implied demands found in rules, rituals, routines and regulations of schools. For a discussion of the hidden curriculum and reproduction of inequalities using Irish data see Kathleen Lynch, *The Hidden Curriculum: Reproduction in Education, A Reappraisal* (East Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1989) and R. Lingard, "The Hidden Curriculum: Two Sociological Conceptions," *Curriculum Perspectives*. For a series of discussions about the hidden curriculum in higher education see Eric Margolis ed., *The Hidden Curriculum in Higher Education* (New York: Routledge, 2001). For a discussion of the hidden curriculum and morality see Henry Giroux and David Purpel, eds., *The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education: Deception or Discovery* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1983). For a functionalist discussion of the hidden curriculum and consensus theory see E. Durkheim, *Moral Education* (New York: Free Press,

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([1925] 1961); Philip Jackson, *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), 33; R. Dreeben, "The Contribution of schooling to the learning of norms," *Harvard Educational Review* Spring (1967): 211-137 and; Talcott Parsons, "The school class as a social system: some of its functions in American society," *Harvard Educational Review 29* Fall (1959): 297-318. For a Marxist perspective on the hidden curriculum and reproduction theory see C. W. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (London: Oxford University Press.1959); Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*: *A Phenomenological Essay on Ontology* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1966); H. Marcuse, *Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1960) and *Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966); Maurice Natanson, *Literature, Philosophy, and the Social Sciences: Essays in Existentialism and Phenomenology* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1962); P. Horton, *The Sociology of Social Problems* (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts 1955) and *Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill 1968); A. Gouldner, *The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology* (New York: Basic Books 1970); Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Phil*osophy, and other Essays (London: NLB 1971); R. Collins, "A Conflict Theory of Sexual Stratification," *Social Problems* 19. 1 (1971):3-21; Samuel Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labor," in Jerome Karabel and A.H. Halsey eds., *Power and Ideology in Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977): 137-153; Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Education and the Contradictions of Economic life* (New York: Basic Books 1976). For structuralist cultural reproduction theory and correspondence theory see P. Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture* (Newbury Park, Cal: 1990); P. Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." In R. Brown ed., *From Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change* (London, UK: Tavistok), E. Bruner, "Cultural Transmission and Culture Change," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 12 (1956): 191-199, L. Bellamy, "Capital, Habitus, Field, and Practice: An Introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu, in L. Erwin and D. MacLennan, eds., *Sociology of Education in Critical Perspectives on Theory, Research and Practice* (Toronto: ON: Copp Clark Longman, 1994) and B. Bernstein, "Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible," in J. Karabel, and A. Halsey, eds., *Power and Ideology in Education* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977). For a British perspective that draws on anthropological ethnographic studies see George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969); D. H. Hargreaves, *The Challenge for the Comprehensive School: Culture, and Community* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982); C. Lacey, *Hightown Grammar* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); Also S. Ball, *Beachside Comprehensive: A Case Study of Secondary Schooling* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981); P. Woods, *The Divided School* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979); and *Sociology and the School: An Interactionist Viewpoint* (Boston, MA: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1983); M. Barlow and H-J. Robertson, *Class Warfare: The Assault on Canada's Schools* (Toronto, ON: Key Porter Books, 1994); and *Sociology and the School: An Interactionist Viewpoint* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1983). For a neo-Marxist ethnographic studies and resistance theory see Rachel Sharp and Anthony Green, *Education and Social Control: A Study in Progressive Primary Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975); F. English, "Shame and Social Control Revisited," *Transactional Analysis Journal* 24 (1994): 109-120; M. Reimer, "Sinking into the Ground: The Development and Consequences of Shame in Adolescence," *Development Review* 16 (1996): 321-363; Paul Willis, *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Jobs* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977); and "Education, Culture Production, and Social Reproduction," *British Journal of Sociology of Education 5. 2 (1984);* S. Acker, *Gendered Education: Sociological Reflections on Women, Teaching, and Feminism* (Toronto: OISE, 1994); J. Gaskell, *Gender Matters from School to Work* (Philadelphia: Open University Press 1992). In terms of race, class, and gender see M. Arnot, *Reproducing Gender? Essays on Educational Theory and Feminist Politics* (New York: Routledge/Falmer 2002); R. Deem, ed., *Schooling for Women's Work* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1980); D. Spender and E. Sarah, *Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education* (London: Women's Press 1980); S. Walker and L. Barton, eds., *Gender, Class, and Education* (New York: International Publication Service, Falmer Press, 1983); Angela McRobbie, "Settling of Accounts with Subculture," *Screen Education, 34* appreciation of the ascetic nature of the picture brought balance to the episode that restored my spirit.

Jill's story provides another lived experience from a non-native perspective. *Jill* is a dedicated and practicing teacher with a Ph.D. in education, who has taught in schools internationally and in Canada. Our conversations about her educational experiences in a rural setting in western Canada provides some insights into the intersections of experience and educational shaping in her journey of becoming.

> *My experience with formal education has been ongoing from the age of six years old, I was out of the school system for three years, came back into college and university, and now I teach. My first experience with formal education was a pretty sharp rupture in my life, moving from my home and going to school, it was overwhelming. The things that I remember happening was the silence, not being able to speak and there were times to talk and that was pretty rare.*
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> *You know I guess just trying to figure out how to be there and how to be successful. I was kind of, I've always been more*

(1980); Sheila Riddell, *Gender and Politics of the Curriculum* (New York: Routledge 1992); and L. Valli, *Becoming Clerical Workers* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1986). For critical theorists in North America see M. Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic Education in a Conservative Age* (New York: Routledge, 1993); *Ideology and Curriculum* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979); *Education and Power* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1982); Jean Anyon, "Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work," *Journal of Education* 162 (1980); and Henry A. Giroux, *Theory and Resistance in Education: Towards Pedagogy for the Opposition* (Westport, CN: Bergin and Garvey 1981). For resistence theorists see M. W. Apple, *Education the 'Right' Way: Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer. 2001); *Cultural politics and education* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1996); *Education and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1995); and *Power, Meaning, and Identity: Essays in Critical Educational Studies* (New York: P. Lang, 1999); Paulo Freire, *Cultural Action for Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, 2000); *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation,* trans., Donaldo Macedo (South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey, 1985); and *Learning to Question: A Pedagogy of Liberation,"* trans., Tony Coates (New York: Continum, 1989); Peter McLaren, *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundation of Education* (New York: Longman 1989); Henry. Giroux and D. Purpel, *The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education: Deception or Discovery* (Berkeley, CA: McCutchan, 1983); Kathleen Weiler, *Women Teaching for Change: Gender, Class and Power* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin Garvey Publishers, 1988); M. Smith Crocco, Petra Munro, and Kathleen Weiler, *Pedagogies of Resistance: Women Educator Activists 1880-1960* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999).

of a watcher, I think in the beginning and I don't really just jump right in. I usually stand back a bit and watch and figure things out before I start to participate. I guess, I would see things happening to other kid's and I would learn based on what happened to them. For example a little boy that wet his pants one day in grade one, because he wasn't allowed to go to the bathroom. I learned in that moment, you better go to the bathroom at recess time or next week that could be me standing there because I'm not going to get out of this room either.

I hated school as a young child and all the way through. I think it started for me getting on a school bus, because I lived in a rural community, the actual leaving of a safe space of home. The moment I stepped onto that school bus, the moment I walked from my house and stood out along the road, I was moving into a public space and I guess the school bus was sort of a lull between happiness and terror. I liked my teacher in grade one, I don't remember feeling that I disliked her, I was afraid. When I was in grade two, I had this older woman for a teacher and one day she basically told me that I was a little whore because my skirt got ripped off of my dress. I played with boys and lots of more rougher kinds of things than I suppose some of the other girls did. I was up in the tree and they yanked on my skirt because we were playing tag, it was a natural thing to do, and if I'd been at home, my mom wouldn't have done that, my mom would have said, maybe you better put on pants, if you're going to play in the trees. I had no respect for [the teacher] from that moment on.

I do trust you, as a human being, as a friend and as a researcher. I didn't realize how hard this would be, because it does take you back into the moment where stuff happened and you felt certain things. I think about the place of where we tell our stories and how that shapes them. When I told you about the teacher getting angry when I ripped the skirt off of my dress it would be really unfair for me to blame her or just to take that moment and say that's a moment, and in that moment, I felt that way. I still feel that way. I mean it's a *moment that stands out for me in that kind of primary education, but you know what, it's about interrelationship between different contexts, a different place that I had to go to, different from what I knew and what is interconnected in my story of school are stories of going to Church. With my kind of experience there is a link to church. It's a conversation that my family has a lot and fairly recently with my mom and dad around the people who attended that church and their snobbiness. What I remember from being really, really young was knowing that I was going to this place and my mom and dad, well there was this expectation that I would behave and that I would be quiet and so on. I don't think I really started to wake up to how I was feeling and what was going on in that place called Church until I went to school. Until then, I mean I went there once a week and on Sundays my parent's didn't work. I know that by that time school and church kind of intersected for me. I think my mom had some sense of shame in taking us to church on Sundays. I recently asked my mom, how come you sewed us clothes? And those clothes were always for church? When they were a bit older, then we would wear them to school. She said she wanted us to have decent clothes and decent to me is connected with shame. Because decent is about that there's stories out there about what's acceptable and what isn't acceptable, and so decent is the fit, and if you don't fit, you're on the edge. I guess the first memory that came back to me was being very young, it was probably winter, because it was cold and we lived in a log house, so the only form of heat was a coal stove and <choked voice> I remember my mom, sitting up hours on end sewing some dresses for my sister and me, so we would look appropriate to go to church. I always knew that my mom was uncomfortable when she went to church. I asked her about becoming a member of that church community when she wasn't raised that way? She said some of the women made her and us feel like an outsider. The ones that supported her and made her feel okay were the people that knew about what it meant to live in a rural community, that liked to live, the kind of living, that depended on the land and the animals for survival. What the teacher didn't know was that love* *basically that my mom had, to make that dress in a curve. When we were really young we didn't have power, everything was coal and oil lights and when I think about my mom it would have been an all day job and taking turns with my dad, in the wintertime, checking the cattle and so on. I mean she was tired, you know she was raising four children and in the middle of the night, there she was in the dark, taking apart her mom's or maybe one of her aunt's or somebody's old piece of clothing to sew something nice so that we could go into a place and not crawl, not I guess feeling as though we were less than them. I can't figure out why she did that, because my mom's not like that, my mom's not into show, a very down to earth person.*

What was happening in school was also somehow going to school and going to church were two different away from home places, in a young life where things were just really different. In some ways I think it was the coming together of all of my elementary teachers in grade one, two and three they all went to the same church in the community where I lived. I didn't go to church in the community where I lived, I went to a church quite a distance away, and when I think about why I didn't like a lot of the things that happened, they talked a lot about God and their understanding of religion, yet I already had started to form a somewhat broader idea about church. Then I had to come to school and listen to these people not only say what they believed, but enact it.

I can remember just going places with my dad, like walking out to a field or being with the horses. In the early years, the horses would pull the wagons, he was putting on the team and I'd be able to ask him about stuff and he'd tell me. He'd say well it works like this or it works like that. I remember when we had this horse, she had some attitude and my dad always said to me, don't be doing that, she doesn't like when you're fooling around and I just kept kind of pushing and she bent down and bit me on my face. There's a moment where my dad could have come unglued, screamed and hollered at me like what might have happened at school and said, I just *told you not to do that, you just continued to do it and look what happened. It's just interesting, how school and education has become constructed as wholly in a building and in a building called school. When I think about what I learned it's not like a list of skills that at the end of grade three were ticked off, a report card, what my dad taught me and helped me to see, helped me to feel, has profoundly influenced the person that I've become. When I think back to some of the moments that happened, I can see that in a lot of those moments, we were trying to stay alive, but I also wasn't trying to figure out what was going on in the moment, like I am now.*

When I think about those things, I think it's always particular to the context; some of my teachers in elementary school all belonged to this one church and they really pushed the church agenda at school. I didn't belong to that church. My grade three teacher was also the vice-principal of the elementary part and he said to me one day, what was wrong with my parents, didn't they understand that I was going to go to Hell. Well you know as a child, that scared the shit out of me because I knew what Hell was. I just had to stay there until three thirty, to get on the bus and go home. I think what it did inside of me; I think it started me becoming angry. When I was in grade three one day on the school bus I called out the window and I said who's the funny man, that little man with the funny head and it was the vice-principal, who was my teacher, <laugh> and I was out of school for two days over that.

I was in a 4/5 split class when I was in grade 4. The grade fives teased us and laughed at us and made fun of us because we were younger and I suppose that also meant that we weren't as smart because we weren't in grade five. The teasing was allowed. It was a terrible year. It was so obvious that anybody who ever got in trouble in the classroom, it was always in the grade four class. It was more of a collective community thing I felt there, being with my other grade four people and knowing we never had the opportunity to position *the grade five students the way they positioned us. I found it hard to go to school every day. It was a scary place, because there's something even harder when someone one says something to you that maybe makes you feel insignificant or unworthy, it's far worse in a public place where at any minute, it could have been me. Who knew who it was going to be? For the most part, we never retaliated, we just took it because they were bigger kids that beat us up and stuff. I was reading something the other day about how you feel a kind of shame in terms, I remember using the term shame, but I can't separate the school experience from what happened to the kids there that I was connected with. How I feel about school is very much shaped by being witness to what I saw happen to a lot of kids.*

My grade five teacher who was the woman I loved, and she, I would say was the first and only teacher I've met in public school from grade one to grade twelve that actually treated children with respect and particularly children that were different than the majority. I think the way I got a voice was probably from anger. I was white, was positioned differently in the community than my friend's families, I was drawn to the kids on the edges, I was one on the edge, but in a very different way because I was someone less touchable than they were because my parents had a different capacity to be able to enter into the school and my dad was on the school board. I started to see that in my silence I was not really helping my friends. I think I was born with this sense of intolerance, not being able to think for myself, I don't know how to explain it, but I guess I was angry because I couldn't be who I was in school. So I suppose over time, probably in that lull between some point in grade two, I think I really shut down. I felt that people there only saw me in terms of academics; I wasn't a dumb student so that also gave me a bit of a different position. When I became vocal being able to say this is wrong I got a pretty bad label attached to me to the point that I became a nobody. It was just like let's just get her through high school and get her out of here because she's a troublemaker, and you know, really what's she going to do *anyways. It was kind of that attitude of you know, I was a girl and I was probably going to spend my adult life not thinking, so it really didn't matter what happened with my education.*

I became really sick when I was in Junior high, I don't know a way to describe it to you. I tried quitting, spent my time in my room when I was at home. I really retreated inward when I was at home because when I was at school, I was both in that state, but I was also in a real rebellious state as well. When I was in grade six, I had always been in the A class, until I got to grade six, and then I got put in the B class. I begged my mom and dad to be moved to the A class, but my mom and dad wouldn't do it. But you know today, I kind of find it interesting because I could never figure out why they [the school] put me there and it made me feel dumb. I suppose it made me feel somewhat angry, who are these people anyways, to put me in the B class. But when I think about it now, the kids that were in the B class were the kids that I hung out with. The kids understood what that meant, that when you went from A to B, it was something different. Basically I didn't care about school. It didn't really matter to me. I just thought, if you think I'm dumb, why would I do anything, why would I be interested or do anything? What I was taught in school, I didn't have troubles learning how to add and multiply and all of those kinds of things. Comments on my report card were always about me having a really poor attitude and not paying attention and that started in grade two. I guess you just get to a point, and I still do that, when you know that it feels like no matter what you do you're going to have that one story told of you, you just kind of quit trying.

It was in grade ten biology when a number of the kids in my class got zeros on their report cards. I didn't get zero but it wasn't like I got any great mark. Interestingly enough, the kids that got zeros, most of them were from [a particular Church] and that was way more alarming than had it been a friend who was a foster child. A number of parents rallied *together and spoke to the teacher and the principal about what was going on and when we were in biology next day the vice-principal, principal and biology teacher screamed and hollered at us about what babies we were because our parents had to come in and talk about our marks. If you don't want to work you shouldn't be here and it's a privilege to come to school. I just got angrier and angrier, and all of a sudden I just stood up out of my desk and I said you could scream and holler if you wanted to, but you can't stop us from coming to school. This is our school as much as it is yours and we don't have to sit here and listen to you behave like this.*

A day later or so I got into a real argument with the principal and was suspended. We used to sit along the wall with our feet out and so if there was someone on either side the path got narrow. We weren't allowed to do that in school, and for the most part in school, we weren't actually allowed to sit on the floor, but there were no gathering places for us, so we did it anyways. Then whenever the teachers came some of them would give us trouble and others didn't, so you just moved when you had to. So the principal came along one morning and my friend and I were sitting like that out in the hallway and he kicked my feet so I just looked away and he said to me, well I see you're in your usual good attitude this morning so I said if you leave me alone, I'd have a much better attitude. So anyways, then I went to French class, and he called me out of the class and brought me into the office. You see my brother had quit school at the end of grade eleven when he was suspended for smoking, off school grounds, during a field day. He decided that he had enough of what went on in that building. The rule was that my mom and dad had to apologize for my brother, so he could go back to school and finish grade twelve. There were three or four other guys with him, they were politicians' kids and the wealthy people in the community, and their parents didn't apologize. My brother just wouldn't allow mom or dad to do it. So when I was called into the principal's office, I harboured a lot of resentment toward him because it was just wrong, it was morally wrong, and he did all kinds of stuff every day to all kinds of people. It

> *was just outrageous. He gave me a lecture about how embarrassed my parents must be because I turned out like I was, and I was such a nice little girl when I was in grade one. I just turned out to be such a thing with lots of attitude and I was hanging with these real riff-raff in the community. He told me I was going to end up pregnant by the time I got into grade twelve if I didn't watch it. He said the same thing again in front of my mom. He made my mom come and pick me up; he wouldn't let me stay at school. He suspended me because I had a bad attitude and I was rude to him. That's how he operated, one on one, so it was my word against his. And that's how he mostly operated. Instead of dealing with the situation in the hallway he called for me over the intercom, he called all the kids over the intercom and we knew we were in trouble. When the secretary made the call, it meant parents were there, or that their lunch got dropped off or whatever. It's interesting, he thought it would make me feel shamed because I had to go to the principal's office. It was laughable because I started to shut down.*

> *I think by the time I finished high school, there was a part of me that had really sort of shut down. My years from eighteen to twenty one were really rough. I spent a lot of time in [self-destructive behaviour] to the point I could see that there wasn't a future in it, I didn't know how to make a future because I hadn't graduated from high school with matriculation, so that kind of immediately shaped my possibilities for the future. I guess I thought there wasn't a second chance.*

Jill's second chance came from her parents' support not financially but in what she termed deep support.

> *Listen it's not over, it's not finished, you're eighteen years old, it's not the end of your life. If you want to do something, then figure out what you want to do, and we'll help you in some capacity. I eventually did come back to education in a*

> *Teacher Education program. I've always loved being in a classroom with children, whether they are young or older and probably my happiest being teacher was overseas. I guess you could say, it's something that I never thought I would experience, the principal had said to me before she hired me that all she wanted first of all was someone who knows how to love children, and then I want you to work with them, teach them how to read, and write and to love reading and writing, and teach them about numbers and how they work. There wasn't all this crap about standardized testing and report cards and poking children into boxes and levels. I worked with five teachers and the whole program was based on attending to the children and their interests shaped what happened. I'm not going to say that it was easy street because I did run into some problems with some of the parents, where they felt that I was from the "colonies" and probably shouldn't be teaching in this affluent British school, but we worked through that, and I guess, the staff there, there was an openness and a joy that I've never experienced on any other school landscape.*

When *Jill* returned to Canada her stories of the teaching landscape changed dramatically when her own shaping in teacher education followed.

> *I was shaped in a system where pretty standard things were happening in math, social studies and science. I became a lot more silent as a teacher than I was as a student. I started at a Junior college and transferred to a University. It all just seemed so out there, compared to how I thought what teachers were and what they actually did. I just sort of got through. I did what I had to do and there were some courses that I took that were meaningful and interesting enough. It was highly competitive around what minor you got and everybody wanted the Language Arts minor, because the big boards in the province were looking for people who had a minor in language arts. I knew that I didn't have the political connections to get into the minor and ended up in what was called at the time Moral Ed. The reason I chose it was because*

it had counselling courses. I was really interested in the relational aspect. Social Studies was another option, I always liked Social Studies, but again I wouldn't have gotten it because it was mostly boys that were getting into a Social Studies minor, I mean you learn to read the landscape so I ended up in the Moral Ed minor. I can say that some of it was incredibly awful, but there was some, like one course, what we did was read literature and we talked about why, and what that meant for education and I loved it. It opened up all these conversations where we really started to be able to talk about our fear about who was going into the classrooms. Some of the tensions about how we thought, how we had thought of what it meant to teach and then we came here [university] and found out it was like a bag of tricks. I kind of crossed the border into the land of the people that perpetuate the very same stuff that I struggled against as a child.

If I were to apply for a job in the same district that I went to school in now and went back to that same little school, and some of the same people would still be teaching there it's not going to be that much different. Or maybe it is different because there are different people in that building now, but what's surrounding it, kind of the particular context and then the larger social context children that fell through the cracks when I was there still don't matter; nobody is still going to pay attention to that. What would I do today, I often think about well, if I hadn't been a beginning teacher, would I have spoken more, I sometimes think yes I would have. I don't think though I had the language to even describe it to people, what I saw happening there and what I felt that many of the children were experiencing. I think I have a very different language today to talk about that, there's kind of a, a thing about a quiet resistance you could say because I think I did learn that, oh so I'm going to have to make these kids write standardized achievement tests, well maybe I can figure out different ways to do that, not that it makes any difference in the end.

There was a girl not in my room but down the hallway, and she was just becoming so villainized, she changed, she changed from a, a I would say happy but in a sense of personhood in the following year by Christmas time, she didn't look at anybody, and you know she was just, I mean it was visible, what was happening to her, and of course in the school, it would have been said well, she comes from this crappy home life, her mother's probably doing drugs, her father's doing that and whatever else. So there were always some kind of stories there to explain away what was happening, and because one of the children that came into my room from that other classroom, I had a pretty good sense of what was happening, because I saw her really change, after a time, you know that he was in a different space, so you know I phoned the head of the social services, I phoned his wife, because I knew her, and I told her that I didn't know what to do, and that I was afraid that I would lose my job. I couldn't morally not do something, and could I speak with him in private, and she said yes that lots of people did, so I phoned him and I told him a lot of stuff that was going on, and I saw some things change, but you know maybe they were only surface changes too, I mean what could he do, because he wasn't there on a full time basis either.

I think some of the dominant stories about the kids that are automatically, somehow supposed to respect adults, teachers are in charge, and that it's just kind of a job, I think some of those dominant stories are still in place.

The practice had a profound impact on my life. Their practice probably brought me back into teaching and to become a teacher because I so badly wanted something different in school. Well, you know, I've been a researcher teacher in more schools than I've been a teacher in. I've been a teacher on four school landscapes and one school landscape was profound. What happened was, before I came to the school, the principal had changed and I felt that the principal had absolute, just profound respect for the kids that went there. She was trying to make a bit of a different story and it was starting, and of *course she left. Then it switched back to those same old ways. There's this kind of sense out there that kids are just supposed to behave respectful and it doesn't really matter how teachers treat kids, but kids better be respectful of teachers. When I think about my other schools, the school when I was overseas was probably number two in terms of respectfulness. Again it was respectfulness in part, it was shaped because the people who were there were respectful people of others. But it was also shaped in part because of fear. I mean, there wasn't a child in that building whose family didn't make probably five or six million dollars a year. You're not going to screw up with people like that because they have power. I left the first school I taught in because I started to feel that as a teacher, if I stayed, I would have become like my colleagues or I would have lived out those stories, but I was somehow being hypocritical to the children's families. There was this little boy who would have been in grade one. I taught his sister in grade three. He got this label attached to him of being angry and thumping other kids out on the playground. I didn't go to the staff room because I didn't like it, I didn't like being made to feel lower because I was a beginning teacher even though I was a couple of years older than most beginning teachers. I also didn't like what happened there. I didn't like how the conversation that happened around children and families and the community. I didn't want to have anything to do with it. I don't know the whole story, I guess the story was that this little boy had been in trouble so the teacher and principal decided that he would spend his recesses, every recess, two short ones and a longer lunch hour, in the custodian's room pounding nails into a board. Doing that would help him handle his anger. Morally I should have done something, I would always stop and see him when I was walking by. The principal had said to me a few times that by my doing that, I was making him into a hero because then he got one on one time with a teacher. I was probably nobody to this little boy, I taught his sister, ethically and morally, I wasn't responsible to him and his family, because I didn't push it. So my silence just condoned it. I didn't push it, I suppose it's partly because pushing other things and seeing*

> *that there was no movement. I suppose in part, deciding he wasn't a child in my room and there was so much stuff that I needed to kind of push against in terms of all 28-30 kids I was working with, that I kept my attention there. I don't think I'm that kind of person. I don't stand up in a very public forum like a staff meeting and saying I'm alarmed by this, I don't agree with it. I don't condone it; I can't stay here in this building and watch it. My Teacher Ed. Program didn't prepare me to push here. It didn't prepare me to make a stand and to say, and to speak up. To say, I don't agree with this, we need to think about this, how can we change this? So it didn't teach me to do that, but it also didn't teach me to condone it.*

The three stories converge in the systemic practices of institutionalized education. I thought about how we attempted to overcome those moments that attempted to steal our spirit and the temporality of the authority of the shape shifters in our lives. In hindsight the implicitness of this educational practice becomes obvious; what is less obvious is the pervasive process of practice that attempted to re-shape lives – like my own, *Asinwaciaw Iskwew's*, and *Jill's* stories suggest. These three stories span over three generations of student/teacher relationships and practices from the fifties to the present day. *Asinwaciaw Iskwew* is a practicing teacher in a Native community, *Jill* is now teaching in a university and I currently teach university pre-service teachers and in a college. In my classes when we examine and discuss issues on the landscape of school and students talk about their educational experiences, many describe them as shaming experiences and have chosen to think about their impact on their future practice. Those who have completed their practicums complain about how difficult it is to enact change in the classroom. Teachers and administrators tend to scapegoat their inability to change teaching practices because of class size, inexperience, demand to complete the required curricula, and the institution's inflexibility. Some colleagues have also provided descriptions similar to those of their students. This suggests to me that shaming experiences are not limited to residential and day schools but are an inherent part of public education. These conversations have evolved from weeks to months to years as we became brother and sister Hawks, the protectors of our beings, the restorers of our diminished spirits, the seekers of a deeper and broader understanding of the spirit and the guardian responsibility for the protection of childhood visions, empowerment and fulfilment. In retrospect from our experiences in institutions like foster homes, orphanages, residential schools, day schools and public schools, the educational practices sanctioned educational attempts to re-shape us into what civic policies deemed appropriate. They are black stories of attempts to force change. These shaming stories converge on the landscape of public schooling and suggest to me that **shaming is a systemic practice and a learned behaviour in the social structure.** Both *Asinwaciaw Iskwew's* and *Jill's* stories suggest they had no sense of shame prior to attending public school. Through their experiences in school they learned what shaming is, having not experienced it before attending school. Initially they may not have been able to name their feelings and emotions yet they came to learn what it means to be shamed. In my case I was placed in shaming institutions. These different experiences suggest to me that shaming is a social structure to which we are socialized and is not inherent in the individual.

As I contemplate these stories, I characterize them as created relationships of fear, of punishment, and of scapegoating without recourse within educational practices of insidious conformity. I think about how it has become for me an insidious process of psychological and physical violence perpetrated by some school teachers on children that is rooted in classroom management, in the authority of the teacher, and in the profession of expertise that masquerades within the concepts of conformity, unity, and social fitness. This learned behaviour was so reflexive, so accepted, and so seemingly natural for me that I wondered how it came to be. These shared experiences created new puzzles and left me wondering about the structure of schooling that I needed to explore.

Educational Practices

That

Created

Relationships

Of fear

Of punishment

Of scapegoating

Without recourse

Within the educational practices

Of insidious conformity

As I thought about the trickster moments of shame and shaping, I remembered porridge! Those bowls of gritty brown masses of lumps that you could stand your spoon up in, the gruel of our morning subsistence in the orphanage. The cod-liver oil, pinched noses, forced swallowing, the protector of our health we were told. "We know what's best for you!" The boiled figs, the treat of the day! The thought of them still makes me want to puke! It was not until I left that cloister of my salvation I learned that one eats porridge with brown sugar and milk.

> **The video rewinds** and a two-storied brick house emerges.
>
> It's been a loathsome walk home from the school. I walk past the patch of dust that is the lawn, climb four wooden steps to the veranda, and open the screen door. The hinges of outer wooden door squeak for want of oil as I enter the vestibule. I'm confronted with two doors, one on the right that leads up the fifteen steps to the flat upstairs and on the left one that leads to the large, spacious flat on the main floor. I see the boy who lived there; I don't remember his name, and I feel sad, remembering that he killed himself. I enter the door on the right; I climb the stairs to a hallway that leads to the kitchen in one direction and to the dining room and bedrooms in the other. I make the left turn at the top of the banister and go to my room. I pull out my pad and pencil from under my bed and begin to draw.
>
> It's the next morning; it's cold. Someone forgot to put coal in the furnace or maybe we ran out again. There is no hot water in the washroom but I'm used to that now. I make sure that I wash behind my ears and that my fingernails are clean – rosy pink – I remember the pulling of ears and the scrub brush and the Nun's admonishments of being a filthy boy. I'm seated at the kitchen table and a bowl of porridge is placed before me. It seems familiar, but it has milk and brown stuff on it. I cautiously place a bit of the porridge and brown sugar on the end of my spoon, grimacing, closing my eyes. I taste it, not knowing what it was going to be like. It was great! I gobble it down. "Do you want some more?" I could have more! I couldn't believe my ears. I ate porridge every day until I learned that it was usually eaten in the morning and only in the winter. Sometimes I couldn't wait for winter.

The video images stop. The emotions fade. As I re-live that moment, I realize now it was the time that I began to wonder, "What other things don't I know?" I had porridge before in the orphanage, but I never had it with milk and brown sugar. I was conditioned to accept that porridge was gritty brown masses of lumps that you were expected to eat and that you were never offered more (not that you wanted more, but it filled that hole in your stomach). The wondering remains with me to this day and has drawn me back to the nest of the Crow. That Hawk moment of wondering re-stored a sense of living, a new beginning, a sense of being alive. It also brought moments of awareness of being different, of told and untold stories that shaped a life. When I think of life and schooling, what stories are told and untold that shape lives?

I am in the present, the grandfather researcher. I am left to wonder about the stories of the classroom that denied the elation of that budding artist, about labelling, and about the denial of other cultural ways of knowing and how learning became a struggle to maintain some dignity. I wonder how we were positioned as students and became invisible as children, as persons. We were put in our **place**, a space in the classroom, a silencing space that denied other ways of knowing! It was a place of silencing, of rebellion, of submission, of enforced passivity and conformity and particularly a **"Space" of Fear**. Like *Jill* and *Asinwaciaw Iskwew* I did not have the words then; I am not sure I have them now, but there was a feeling for, a wanting of, another place that did feel right. For *Asinwaciaw Iskwew* and *Jill*, school was a "different away-from-home place leaving a safe space of home;" for me, school was an away-from-home place that I wanted. But the landscape of school merged with home for me – no place for the critical mind, for imagining, for knowing without instruction, or for constructing without direction within the 'panopticon' of discipline. I lived in a world of punishment. I did not understand discipline, I only experienced it. I did not understand the broader implications of discipline, not the discipline that teaches self-control, restraint, and skills but discipline "as a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; [as] a physics or an anatomy of power, a technology."[59] As I think about it now, "being put in our place" implied that the teachers had a sense of their place on the landscape of fear. As a grandfather researcher I needed to understand, not in psychological terms but social terms, about this anatomy of power on this landscape of fear called school.

Schools are capturing places. They capture the body, capture the mind, and attempt to capture the spirit. In many ways that Crow moment with Sister Michael Joseph and the budding artist is illustrative of the hidden places of public education in Canada. As the child artist the drawing expressed a personal experience that brought together the abstract concepts of geometry and an emotion of a lived experience of a whole being. When asking, "Where have you ever seen a sky like that?" and not waiting for a response, the teacher minimized, trivialized, and degraded my lived experience. It stated that the artist was wrong! The child's representation was not validated. It also established the authority of the teacher as the expert and the one who knew what was right. **"We know what's best for you!"** When she changed the sky, she established the correct and acceptable image. She changed the landscape of education from a learned, lived experience to an "exposure to a delimited perception of reality"[60] a prescribed form of acceptable knowledge. By making the interaction an incident and public, she inculcated without my "conscious assent,"[61] a fear of innovation, of risk taking, of self-realization, and of exploring alternative ways of knowing. There was no apology, and no affirmation, only an attack on my self-worth. The child became invisible. Only the silenced student remained.

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[59] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* Alan Sheridan (Translator). (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977) 215.

As I thought about this experience, my mind wandered to a recurring dream of a *Hudenosaunee* (Mohawk people of the Longhouse) youth that I have titled, The Crow Dupes herself:

The Crow Dupes Himself

I see a young Mohawk boy strutting up to his uncle with his chest out.

Uncle, I come from a warrior clan, I want to become a warrior!

Hmm! ....So you want to become a warrior? ....You'll have to go and see your grandfather......... over there.

He pointed with a head gesture to the northern woods. The boy was elated, turned and ran off in the direction of his grandfather's lodge. The four miles, through the forest flew by, as his legs moved as fast and as hard as he could run. When he got in sight of his grandfather's lodge he could see his grandfather in the clearing.

Grandfather! Grandfather! He yelled louder and louder.

He remembered – Grandfather was getting a little deaf Mom had said. Grandfather turned with arms outstretched to welcome his grandson into his embrace.

Grandfather, grandfather, I want to be a warrior!

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[60] Mal Hewitson, *The Hidden Curriculum: A Monograph* (Milton Queensland: Bayfield Printing Ltd., (1982), 1.

[61] Mal Hewitson, 1

............You want to be a warrior? ....

Hmm! ...... Ohhh ....

Ok! ....You come and see me tomorrow.

The boy was so excited; he turned and ran off towards his home. He could hardly sleep that night in anticipation of his meeting with his grandfather in the morning. He dreamt all night about the stories of great warriors of his people. The next morning he got up early and ran off to grandfather's, arriving about ten o'clock. He waved as he saw grandfather coming out of his lodge.

Grandfather, I'm here.

Yes I see that you are here. ....

You're too late, come and see me tomorrow.

Shocked! Disappointed! He turned and walked home. That night he couldn't sleep again anticipating his meeting with his grandfather the next day. He got up earlier than he did the previous morning, still excited and elated. He arrived at his grandfather at nine o'clock.

Oh ... there you are, said grandfather. I was wondering where you were.

......Uh ... You're too late, come back tomorrow.

Disappointed, the youth returned home. Confused the youth went to see his uncle to find out why grandfather kept sending him away.

Uncle! Uncle! Grandfather keeps sending me away!

Uncle looked at him. You just do what grandfather tells you to do, said Uncle. Then turned his back to his nephew and walked away.

So the next day he got up even earlier and arrived at grandfather's lodge at eight o'clock. But grandfather wasn't around. This continued for three weeks. Rather dejected, the next day, the young boy arrived at grandfather's lodge at dawn. He saw grandfather going off into the woods.

Grandfather! Grandfather! He called. Grandfather stopped and turned to face his grandson.

Oh! You're here again.

Yes grandfather. I want to be a warrior and I've come every day to see you but you keep sending me away!

.........Oh! ... Oh! ....You're grumpy! ...You sound angry! .....I can't see you!

Go over there, sit down and think about your anger. I'll come and see you later. Grandfather turned his back and walked away.

With that grandfather walked off into the forest. The young boy went over to where grandfather had pointed and sat down under an old birch tree. He sat there all day until it began to get dark and then went home. When he got home everyone could see that he was not happy, so they turned their backs on him and left him alone.

The next day, he returned to the same spot as the day before to wait for his grandfather. He waited all day but grandfather did not come. On his way home, dejected, hurt and frustrated he heard the caw of a Crow. He picked up a rock and threw it at the Crow. This resulted in a crescendo of cawing from the Crow as he flew away.

Ah! Shut-up Crow, he screamed.

He heard the screech of the Hawk.

Stop looking at me Hawk, he screamed and then picked up a stick from the trail and threw it at the Hawk. But the Hawk just stayed there and looked at him as Hawks do.

Stop looking at me, he screamed and ran off down the trail in tears.

As he approached his home he wiped his eyes and told himself – **don't you cry**! Warriors don't cry!

On the third day, he returned to his spot under the tree to wait again. As the sun set the young boy got up and started down the trail to home. On the trail he met his grandfather. With eyes downcast and head bent he offered his grandfather a gift. In a voice that could hardly be heard he offered his grandfather a hawk that he had whittled while he was waiting under the birch tree.

Oh! Oh! Thank you, thank you! My little Hawk said grandfather.

I see you! You are not grumpy anymore.

I wonder is your heart still filled with anger?

No grandfather I have a good heart.

I wonder what you learned about a warrior.

A warrior must have patience, grandfather.
A warrior cannot have anger in his heart, grandfather.
A warrior who is grumpy and angry is alone – people turn their back on him –
they cannot see him – there is no peace in the home.
A warrior must think about the people, grandfather.

...Hmm ...you have a good mind and a good heart, said grandfather.

You are a warrior, my little Hawk.

As the dream repeated over several nights I began to understand its meaning for me. This Crow dream was a trickster episode that makes invisible the learning experience. At first I was enmeshed in the emotion and empathy for the young boy. I only saw his plight. It was all about him. It was all about me. Self-centeredness, ego, hides the loving care that guided the boy to self-realization and embodied knowing. A realization that we do not act alone and that we have a responsibility to the whole community. One must have a sense of something greater than themselves. When the boy's uncle, mother, and grandfather turned their backs on him, they were teaching him (although he did not realize it at the time until he saw the Crow and the Hawk) that when you act in anger, you bring disharmony into the relationship that is harmful for everyone. Your actions affect the whole community and may create harm if you do not have patience, self-restraint, and consideration of all those around you. Being a warrior is not about you; it is about community. It is about a good mind and a good heart and modelling these character traits. He does not realize this until he heard the laughing caw of the Crow as he flew away. Yet the Hawk remained, the guardian protector of the spirit that cautions us to beware of what we think and how we act. As he sat there under the great birch tree, seemingly alone, whittling the hawk, he began to understand that he was not alone. He sat on mother earth, the standing ones, the trees, bushes, the blades of grass, the two legged and three legged, all the animals watching and protecting him, surrounded him – he was not alone. He thought about the Hawk. How it did not abandon him like the Crow and how the Hawk builds its nest, and feeds and protects its young. It is not about the Hawk, it is about the family, it's the nurturing, it's caring, and it's protection. This is the Hawk knowledge of the warrior that he symbolically gave grandfather. In the way he presented the hawk, Grandfather recognized his demeanour and that his grandson realized how foolish he had been; thus he became a warrior.

Yet, like indigenous stories, this dream has multiple meanings. In the fourth world the youth is taught indirectly about the twin concept (trickster) in emotion (*Skan* in the first world). He is taught that if he does not control his emotions, that his actions may be harmful to others. He sets in motion (*Unk*). (from the second world). that which causes discord or contention from negative energy forces. which may be harmful to the community. He also learns the need to develop self-restraint (*Hanwi*), the counter force of inner disciplined emotion and responsibility for one's actions. He learns about the connection to the third world of animals as both invisible, and visible (*Skan* and *Maka*[62]) that provides instruction and teaches him he is not alone (*Wiyoheyapata*). Knowledge (*Wiohpeyata*), he learns when the Crow laughs at him to diminish his spirit (*Niya*). He creates resistance (*Hanwi*) and thus the Crow dupes himself. He is guided and advised with Hawk knowledge of patience and steadfastness (*Ito kagata*). The appearance of his grandfather on the trail after the Crow episode when the boy needs to be encouraged (*Waziyata*) and his grandfather's acknowledgement of his transformed spirit (*Niya*) and soul (*Nagi*) connect him to the great mystery (*Wakan Tanka*). The dream story is not simply about social relationships but experiential teaching of a cosmology or worldview and way to walk in life.

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[62] The power of the six directions.

Within this framework, when I revisit the shaming episode with Sister Michael Joseph, the Crow's duping is evident. Her actions, like the cawing Crow, may have been meant to diminish my spirit, but they created silent resistance that was validated by the Hawk moment of the lay teacher. They taught me to develop self-restraint, a good mind and a good heart. Although I did not know it at the time, they set in motion (*Skan*) an eventual return to the nest of the Crow to further develop my understanding of a life lived, to document this journey, and hopefully to validate this endeavour.

Crow Dupes Herself reminded me that learning did not require punishment or direct teaching and that there were intimate relationships between the learners and the teachers. It also reminded me that indirection, the experience of self-realization and affirmation are important sources of inherent knowledge. It was an education that relied on looking, listening, and learning.[63] The shaping of identity by positive example in the home, subtle guidance towards desired forms of behaviour through the use of games, stories, and formal ritualized ceremonies were educational systems begun during the child's earliest days.[64] Proper behaviour was instilled largely by indirect and non-coercive means using embarrassing warning stories about someone else rather than physical punishment or loss of privileges consistent with the ethic of nón-interference. Indigenous societies was distinguishable from the European in "a number of ways, one of which was their insistence on individual autonomy, the avoidance of imposing one's will on another individual in any but the most extreme situations."[65] The respect for autonomy was extended to all members of the community permitting a great scope for self-expression and the prevention of direct, coercive techniques of behaviour modification.[66]

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[63] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 16. Also see L. Carlson, *More than Moccasins: A Kid's Activity Guide to Traditional North American Indian Life* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 1994); J. Barman, Y. Herbert and D. McCaskill, *Indian Education in Canada: Volume 2: The Challenge* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); S. O'Meara and D. A. West, eds. *From Our Eyes: Learning from Indigenous Peoples* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1996); A. Hungry Wolf and B. Hungry Wolf, *Children of the Sun: Stories By and About Indian Kids* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.1987); J. Manchip White, *Everyday Life of the North American Indian* (New York: Book Club Associates, 1979); L. Mengelkoch and K. Nerburn, eds. *Native American Wisdom* (San Rafael: New World Library, 1991); M.G. Charleston, ed., *Tradition and Education: Towards a Vision of our Future* (Territory of Akwesasne,

Discourse on public education excludes indigenous learning ways in phrases that make a distinction between education and schooling;[67] they create separate spaces as if

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Hamilton's Island, Summerston: National Indian Brotherhood, Assembly of First Nations, 1988); J. W. Friesen, *People, Culture, and Learning* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprise, 1977).

[64] J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), indicates that these were all part of "the three Ls" commonly shared by the heterogeneous indigenous communities "without doing violence to the individualism of the groups as an Aboriginal system of education, p.16. Also see Rupert Ross, *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Indian Reality* (Markham: Reed Books, 1992); and *Returning to the Teachings: Exploring Aboriginal Justice* (Toronto: Penguin Books 1996); P. Wilson, "Trauma of Sioux Indian High School Students," *Anthropology and Educational Quarterly* 22 (1991):367-383 and; Clare C. Brant, "Native Ethics and Rules of Behaviour," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 35. 6, August 1990:534-538.

[65] J.R. Miller, 19.

[66] Miller contends that the sanctions used were embarrassment and ridicule, some say shaming which generally is espoused without being defined, as if it were obvious what was meant, however, shaming will be discussed later and I argue that shaming is a Euro-Canadian interpretation of what was actually happening. When I ask indigenous people to provide a word or words for the concept of shaming all the individuals (from different Indigenous groups) I have interviewed do not have a word or particular words for this idea. Because they speak English and know what it means in English or have experienced shaming in residential schools they are eventually able to construct some phraseology to represent it. My argument is that if shaming were an integral part of the culture then there would be specific words in the language to express it – in other words, the speaker would not have to construct language for its expression. It also seems to me, to be discussed later, when we understand what shaming is, it is diametrically contrary to the inherent principle of non-interference, which is generally recognized as an indigenous principle.

[67] J.R. Miller 15.

they were not one and the same process with the same result, learning. This hidden space becomes obvious when we examine the history of education from an indigenous cross-cultural perspective. The administration of education and its pedagogy creates a relationship between not grandfather or grandmother and grandchildren, uncle and aunt, and cousins [68] but teacher and student in the process of learning. A learning relationship of power, authority, and indifference permitting the teachers to treat the student differently than they would children in a different setting.[69] The indigenous population (the other dangerous group – defined as the Indian problem) until recently was not often mentioned as part of the Canadian history of education and provides a striking example of this process of administrative inculcation. Familiar themes are evident in the literature; "Their education must consist not merely of the training of the mind, but of a weaning from habits and feelings of their ancestors, and the acquirements of the language, arts and customs of civilized life."[70] The convergences of the institutionalization of education are exemplified in the Indian Act of 1876. "The great aim of our legislature has been to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all aspects with the inhabitants of the Dominion, as speedily as they are fit for the change,"[71] The government felt that Prime Minister John A. Macdonald policy of assimilation could only be implemented by completely removing the children from the influences of their kinship relations.[72] Not only were Indigenous children educated separately from the dominant society, they were also educated away from their own culture. In this setting, isolated culturally and geographically, the task of the residential school system was to ensure the systematic formalized transmission of the dominant society's values, skills, culture, religion, and language. *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* story (which is all too common in indigenous societies) dramatically illustrates the plight of indigenous people(s) in public education.

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[68] Traditional Indigenous societies were structured around the unique interrelationships and intrarelationships the existed among family, extended family, clan, band, and tribe. The kinship structure embodied a network of valued relationship where large extended families, and the child, highly valued occupied a central place, where maternal and paternal grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins all took an active part in child rearing; as well as the general community. These kinship relationships did not necessarily have to be blood relationships. See P. Lucas, "Healing Residential Wounds," *Kahtou,* 7 (15) (1989); C. Lewis, *Indian Families of the North West Coast: The Impact of Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); R. Fischler, "Child Abuse and Neglect in American Indian Communities," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 9. 1 (1985); and T. Cross, "Drawing on Cultural Tradition in Indian Child Welfare Practice," *Social Casework* 67 (1986).

[69] J.D. Claire, *North American Indian life* (Hauppauge, NY: Barron's Educational Series, Inc. 2000); A. Hungry Wolf and B. Hungry Wolf, *Children of the Sun: Stories by and about Indian Kids* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc. 1987); M. Stotter, *Step into the World of North American Indians* (London: Lorenz Books 1999); J. Manchip White, *Everyday Life of the North American Indian* (New York: Book Club Associates 1979); Assembly of First Nations, "Breaking the Silence: An Interpretive Study of Residential School Impact and Healing as Illustrated by the Stories of First Nations Individuals," (First Nations Health Commission, Ottawa: 1994); S. Fournier and E. Crey, *Stolen from our Embrace* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre 1997); L. Jaine, ed., *Residential Schools: The Stolen Years* (Saskatoon, SK: Saskatoon University Extension Press 1993); B. Johnstone, *Indian School Days* (Toronto: Key Porter Books 1988); and R. Teichrob, *Flowers on my Grave: How an Ojibwa Boy's Death Helped to Break the Silence on Child Abuse* (Toronto: Harper Collins 1997).

[70] C. Haig-Brown, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press 1998), 29.

Yet, the Hawk dream, reminded me of my own vision quest (*Hambleckeyapi*) [73]. I learnt that we are never alone, that we each have a guardian spirit (*Niya)* that guides and protects us through life's challenges, if we learn to pay attention. It is this spirit that develops our resistance and resilience to the harshness of living in the world. It makes us aware of who we are as autonomous beings and that we must develop self-restraint and do no intentional harm on our earth walk to becoming human beings.

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[71] R.D. Francis, R. Jones, and D.G. Smith, *Destinies: Canadian History since Confederation* 4th Ed., (Toronto: Harcourt, 2000), 63-64.

[72] B. McKensie and P. Hudson, "Aboriginal Children, Child Welfare, and the Colonization of Aboriginal Children," in *The Challenge of Child Welfare*, K.L. Levitt and B. Wharf, eds. (Calgary, AB: University of Calgary Press, 1985).

[73] There are a number of purposes and interpretations of the vision quest ceremony including as a rite of passage, as a search for your purpose in life, and as a rebirth, but it is ultimately about suffering and learning about who you are. In its traditional Lakota and Dakota form (my experience), one is placed in the wildness naked with only a blanket for protection without food or water for four days to understand through hardship, and privation, thus the ideal is humility, peace and harmony with all. One not only learns about oneself, but learns that one is not alone but related to all things and that life has a purpose that one is expected to act on. For some may have an experience like those documented in J. E. Brown, *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk's Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, Norman Publishing, 1989 [1953]); J.G. Neihardt, *Black Elk Speaks* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961 [1932]); T.E. Mails, *Fools Crow*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990);

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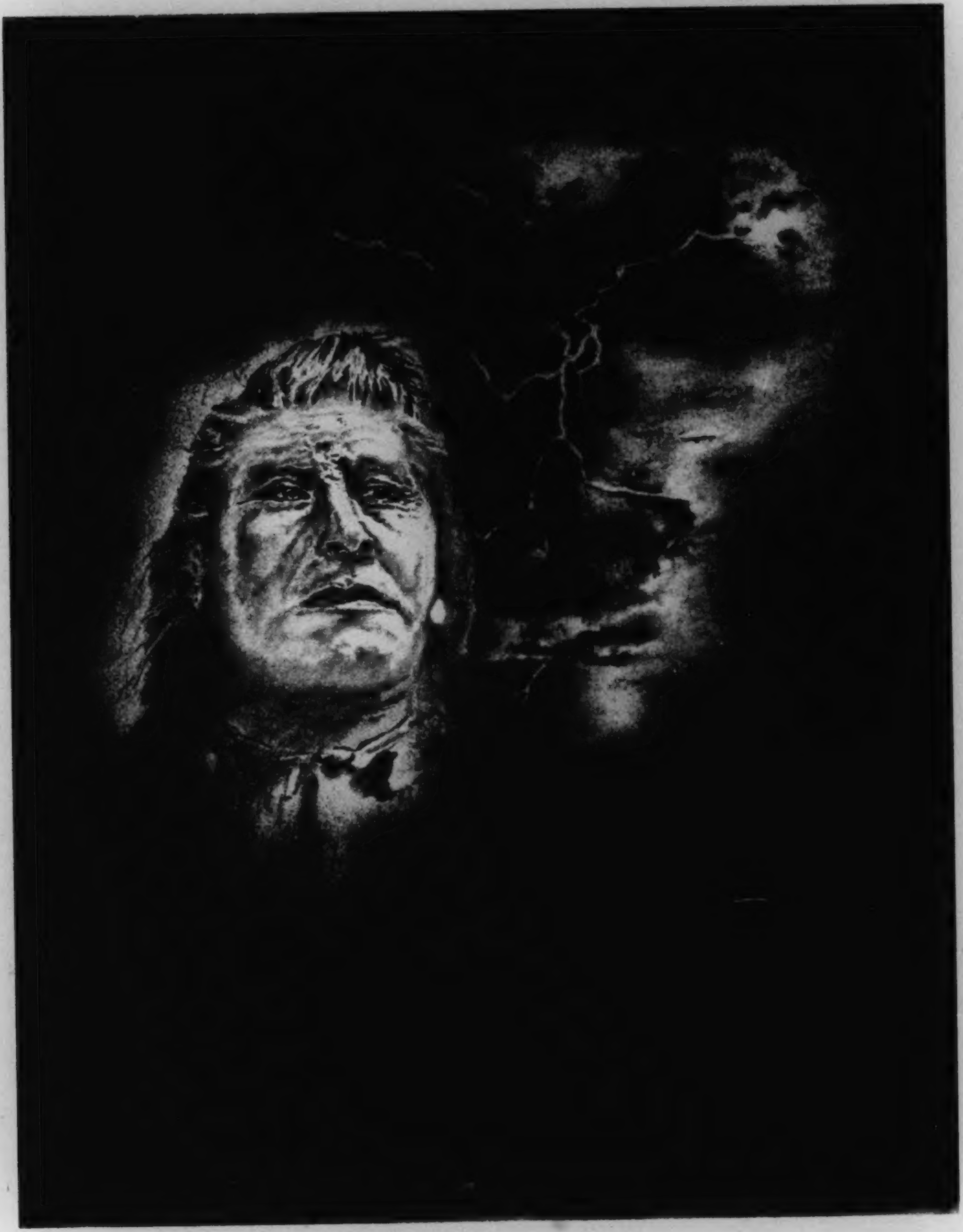
and M. Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange Man of the Oglalas* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992 [1942]).



Hear me, six powers of the earth – I am your relative!
Give me the wisdom to walk the soft earth, a relative to all that is!
Give me the eyes to see, the strength to understand, and the heart to feel, that I may be like you.
With your energy only can I face the winds.

The West

> The West (*Wiohpeyata*) the direction where the light goes down and *Wakinya* the power that emerges from thunder and lightning, a Thunder Being where the black clouds that constitute the thunderstorm seem to fly toward us, usually from the west. As it approaches we can see lightning and hear the thunder that can bring floods, lightning strikes and has the ability to bring fear to the individual. It has the power to destroy. It also has the power to bring life-giving rains that cause things to sprout and grow and in this sense it is the preserver and creator of life. In human terms this twin aspect as destroyer and creator may be interpreted as a transformation process where the old way of being dies and a new way of being is created.

It is a cool day today, minus seventeen below zero Celsius; I am preparing for the *inipi* (sweat lodge). This is a familiar place; it is home. The lodge away from the distractions of living in a modern urban world, the home I never had as a child. The pipe is being filled, a sacred time. A raven flies over the lodge and caws at the moment that tobacco is being placed in the bowl. I heard the wooph … wooph … wooph of her wings as she flies west (*Wiohpeyata*) to east (*Wiyoheyapata*), from darkness to light, a time of transformation. We stand naked; there is no shame in this nakedness, waiting to enter the womb of mother earth. We crawl through the west door, the *heyoka* door, the way of the contraries. We enter humbly and with gratitude to the grandfathers and the grandmothers for these sacred ways. We come to suffer for peace, good health, and happiness for all people. This is a place of healing, renewal, and community. I think of the west door, facing west into the storm of destruction and creation. The storm clouds bring feelings of fear of its destructive power (*Wakinya*) and feelings of joy for its creative power (*Wakinya*) and the anticipation of transformation. I return to the images of the Crow moments as the budding artist; how those dark episodes were filled with dark clouds of fear and as the child I did not realize the unintended transformation that was taking place, the resilience and resistance that I was developing to face their thunder and lightning. Today I have no fear, only a burning desire to understand. I transform into the grandfather Hawk, take flight to distance myself from those dark moments of the child artist, and from the dizzying heights I search the past from the present to construct an understanding of shaming in public education.

The word shame is so common-place in our vocabulary today that it rolls off our lips without a moment of thought as to what we are saying and what impact the words might have. What appears to be clear from a literature review of research on shame is that it is an elusive concept[74] that, like other emotions, is not easily operationalized or

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[74] The literature indicates that shame and shaming are pervasive in Western society. Examples have been presented in biblical and classical texts and have been manifested in popular culture through the media and fiction, S. Rushdie, *Shame* (London, UK: Jonathan Cape, 1983); A. Martin, *Shame and Disgrace at King Arthur's Court* (Stuttgart, Germany: Kummerle Verlag, Goppingen, 1984); T. Nasrin, *Shame: A Novel* (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 1997); J. Braithwaite, *Crime, Shame and Reintegration* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989); G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989); and others suggest psychotherapy to treat what H. Lynd, *On Shame and the Search for Identity* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958); and M Jacoby, *Shame and the Origins of Self-esteem* (New York: Routledge, 1994) deemed a personality trait indicative of a defective self-esteem, A. Adler, *Guiding the Child on the Principles of Individual* Psychology, trans., Benjamin Ginsbury (New York: Greenberg, 1930); K. Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (New York: Norton, 1937); *Our Inner Conflicts: A Constructive Theory of Neurosis* (New York: Norton, 1945); and *Neurosis and Human Growth: The Struggle Toward Self-realization* (New York: Norton, 1950). J. Braithwaite (1989) *Crime, Shame and Reintegration.* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press) saw shame as an integral element of social control and essential to the reintegration of criminals. S. Miller, *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985) conceptualises shame as a state of nuanced and remembered experiences that have stolen the soul; also J. Bradshaw, *Healing the Shame that Binds You* (Deerfield Beach, Fl: Health Communications, 1988) and R. Albers, *Shame: A Faith Perspective* (New York: The Haworth Pastoral Press, 1995). For V. Underland-Rosow, *Shame: Spiritual Suicide* (Shorewood, MN: Waterfold Publications, 1995), it is a systemic process of shaming which underpins the abusive and addictive behaviours in our society. G. Piers and M Singer, *Shame and Guilt* (New York: Norton, 1971) and P. Gilbert and B Andrew, Eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) contextualized shame and shaming as interpersonal behaviours set in a cultural psychopathology. Theoretical and empirical studies posit that shame can operate at the level of the individual, at the interpersonal relationship level, the group level, and even at the cultural level which suggests that, unlike other phenomena such as social anxiety, shame has meanings that go beyond the personal. Shame cannot therefore be seen only as a self-conscious experience but as one that encapsulates

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a multitude of fields of study that relate to social interaction. However, it has only in the last ten to fifteen years that shame has been subject to systematic research and theory development P. Gilbert. What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies, in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3. There is a plethora of literature on shame and guilt; however the focus of this discourse is on a selection of how different theorists and researchers, in the last forty or so years have defined and theorised about the phenomenon of shame. The discourse excludes therapeutic psychopathology in favour of a more concentrated exploration of the major themes identified by shame theorists and researchers, such as P. Gilbert, *Human Nature and Suffering* (Hove, UK: Erlbaum, 1989), *Depression: The Evolution of Powerlessness* (New York: Guilford, 1992); "The evolution of Social Attractiveness and its Role in Shame," *British Journal of Medical Psychology 70* (1997): 113-147; "What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Anderson, ed., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 3-38; C. Schneider, *Shame Exposure and Privacy* (Toronto, ON: Fitzhenny and Whiteside, 1977); H. Lewis, *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* (New York: International University Press,1971); "Narcissistic Personality or Shame-prone Superego Mode," *Comparative Psychotherapy 1* (1980): 59-80; *The Role of Shame in Symptom Formation* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1987); M. Lewis, *Shame: The Exposed Self* (New York: Free Press, 1992); "The Emergence of Human Emotions," in M. Lewis and J. M. Haviland, ed., *Handbook of Emotions* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993), 223-235; "Self-Conscious Emotions," *American Scientist 83* (1995): 68-78; S. Miller, *Shame in Context* (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 1996); "Humiliation and Shame: Comparing Two Affect States as Indicators of Narcissistic Stress," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* 52 (1988): 40-51; *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985,); D. Nathanson, "Shame, Compassion, and the "Borderline" Personality," *Psychiatric Clinics of North America 17* (1994): 785-810, *Shame and Pride:Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: Norton, 1992), *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford, 1987); S. Retzinger, "Shame in the Therapeutic Relationship," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, ed., *Shame* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); "Identifying Shame and Anger in Discourse," *American Behavioral Scientist* 38 (1995): 1104-1113; *Violent Emotions: Shame and Rage in Martial Quarrels* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1991); J. Tangney, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in the Assessment of Shame and Guilt," *Behavior Therapy and Research 34* (1996): 741-754; "Shame and Guilt in Interpersonal Relationships," in J.P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer, eds., *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995); J. Tangney, S.A. Burggraf, and P.E. Wagner, "Shame-proneness, Guilt-proneness, and Psychological Symptons," in J.P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer, eds., *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995); "Situational Determinants of Shame and Guilt in Young Adulthood." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 18* (1992): 199-206; "Assessing Individual Differences in Proneness to Shame and Guilt: Development of the Self-conscious Affect and Attribution Inventory," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 59* (1990): 102-111; J. Averill, "A Contructivist View of Emotion," in R. Plutchik and H. Kellerman, eds., *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience* (New York: Academic, 1980); *Anger and Aggression: An Essay on Emotion* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1982); "The Social Construction of Emotion: With Special Reference to Love," in K. Gergen and K. Davis, eds., *The Socia lConstruction of the Person* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1985); S. Tomkins, "Shame," in D. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford Press, 1987); "Affect Theory," in P. Ekman, ed., *Emotion in the Human Face* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1982); "The quest for primary motives: Biography and Autobiography," *Journal of Personality and Social* Psychology *41* (1981): 306-329; *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Negative Affects, Vol .2* (New York: Springer, 1963); *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Negative Affects, Vol.1* (New York: Springer, 1962); D. Nathanson, "Shame, Compassion, and the "Borderline" Personality," *Psychiatric Clinics of North America 17* (1994): 785-810; *Shame and Pride:Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: Norton, 1992); *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford, 1987); L. Brothers, *Friday's Footprint: How Society Shapes the Human Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); P. Emad, "Max Scheler's Phenomenology of Shame," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 32 (1972): 361-70; A. Isenberg, "Natural Pride and Natural Shame,"*Philosophy and Phenomenological Research, Sept. 10*, 1949: 1-24; H. Wallbott and K. Scherer, "Cultural Determinants in Experiencing Shame and defined in theoretical terms[75] and “it may well be that a ‘pure’ assessment of

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Guilt, in *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride,* eds., J. Tangney and K. Fisher, (New York: Guilford Press, 1995) and others. The core issue and controversies in shame research evolve around a critical review of their theories, definition, and methodologies. I draw on this body of studies of shame to aid my understanding; however, my primary focus is the sociological aspects of shaming.

[75] The wide variety of shame theories are rooted in different schools of competing thought that obscure a definitive meaning. They include psychoanalytic theories such as Jungian thought as interpreted by M. Jacoby, *Shame and the Origins of Self-esteem* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Kohutian self-psychology [see H. Kohut, *The Restoration of the self* (New York: International University Press 1977); “Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage,” in P. Ornstein, ed., *The Search for the Self* (New York: International University Press, 1978); “Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage,” in *Psychoanalytic Study of the* Child 27 (1972): 360-400; “The Analysis of the Self,” *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* (1971)]; A. Morrison, “The Eye Turned Inward: Shame and the Self,” in D.L. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford Press, 1987), 271-291; *Shame: The Underside of Narcissism* (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 1989) and L. Wurmser, *The Mask of Shame* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1981)] and various compilations [see M. Lansky, *Fathers who Fail: Shame and Psychopathology in the Family System* (New York: Analytic Press, 1992); “Shame and the Scope of Psychoanalytic Understanding,” *American Behavioral Scientist* 38. 8 (1992), 1076-1090]; R. Schenk and J. Everingham, *Men Healing Shame: An Anthology* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1995); S. Miller, *Shame in Context* (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press 1996); “Humiliation and Shame: Comparing two Affect States as Indicators of Narcissistic stress,” *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic,* 52 (1988), 40-51 and P Mollon, “Shame in Relation to Narcissistic Disturbance,” *British Journal of Medical Psychology,* 57 (1984), 207-214. Although there is some current Freudian thought about shame, it played a minor role in Freud’s drive theory and in defenses that maintained civilization, guilt was the prominent focus [see F. Broucek, “Shame and its Relationship to Early Narcissistic Developments,” *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 63 (1991): 369-378] an interpretation where shame is an inhibition to exhibitionism. Freudian concepts of development theory [see A. Freud, *Normality and Pathology in Childhood: Assessment of Development* (New York: International Press 1965) and The Psychoanalytic Study of Infantile Disturbance. *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 2 (1946), 119-132] innate patterning of instinctual drives were challenged by A. Sullivan, “The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry,” Helen Swick Perry and Mary Ladd Gawel, eds., (New York: Norton, 1953); *“Clinical Studies in Psychiatry,”* Helen Swick Perry, Mary Ladd Gawel, and Martha Gibson, eds., (New York: Norton, 1956) and B. Kell and J Burow, *Developmental Counseling and Therapy* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin 1970) interpersonal theory; W. R. D. Fairbairn’s, *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality,* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966) and H. Guntrip, *Personality Structure and Human Interaction: The Developing Synthesis of Psychodynamic Theory* (London: Hogarth Press, 1961); *Schizoid Phenomena, Object-relation, and the Self* (New York: International Press, 1969); *Psychoanalytic Theory, Therapy, and the Self* (New York: Basic Books, 1971); object-relations theory, and S. Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Positive Affects, Vol. 1* (New York: Springer 1962); *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Negative Affects, Vol. 2.* (New York: Springer, 1963); “The Quest for Primary Motives: *Biography and Autobiography Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 41 (1981): 306-329; “Affect Theory,” in P Ekman. (Ed.), *Emotion in the Human Face* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1982); “Shame,” in D. Nathanson (Ed.), *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford Press, 1987) affect theory which is the central focus for the core issues and controversies of shame research. The current discourse is an affect theory [see G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer, 1989) and *Shame: The Power of Caring* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1980); D. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: Norton1992); and S. Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Positive Affects Vol.1* (New York: Springer, 1962); *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Negative Affects, Vol. 2* (New York Springer, 1963); “The Quest for Primary Motives: Biography and Autobiography,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 41, (1981): 306-329; “Affect Theory,” in P. Ekman ed., *Emotions in the Human* Face (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1982), J. MacCurdy, “The Biological Significance of

dispositional shame can only be achieved by assessing shame of personal characteristics through direct questioning".[76]

Blushing and Shame," *British Journal of Psychology* 71 (1965): 19-59; "Shame," in D. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford Press, 1987); M Lewis, *Shame: The Exposed Self* (New York: Free Press, 1992) and cognitive-behavioural theories (A. Beck, G. Emery, and R. Greenberg, *Anxiety Disorders and Phobias: A Cognitive Approach* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); E. Klass, "Guilt, Shame and Embarrassment: Cognitive-behavioural Approaches," in H. Leitenberg ed., *Handbook of Social and Evaluative Anxiety* (New York: Plenum, 1990: 385-414). While developmental psychologists have differing ideas about the origins of shame, [see K. Barrett, "A Functionalist Approach to Shame and Guilt, in J. Tangney and K. Fischer eds., in *Self-conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995); D. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: Norton 1992) and *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford); A. Schore, *Affect Regulation and the Origin of the Self: The Neurobiology of Emotional Development* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1994); M. Lewis, "The Emergence of Human Emotions," in M. Lewis and J.M. Haviland ed., *Handbook of Emotions* (New York: Guilford Press 1993) 223-235, and "Self-Conscious Emotions," *American Scientist, 83* (1995), 68-78; D. Stipek, "The Development of Pride and Shame in Toddlers," in J.P. Tangney and K.W. Fischer eds., *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995), 237-252. At the same time there are sociological and anthropological approaches to shame that differ from psychological theory [D. Cohen, J. Vandello, and K Rantilla, "The Scared and the Social: Cultures of Honor and Violence," in P. Gilbert and Bernice Andrews, (Eds.). *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and* Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 261-282; E. Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings* (New York: Free Press, 1968); N. Lindisfarne, "Gender, Shame, and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective," in P. Gilbert and Bernice Andrews, (Eds.) *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) 246- 260, and T. Scheff, "Shame in the Labelling of Mental Illness," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); "Shame and Conformity: The Deference-Emotion System, American Review of Sociology, 53 (1987): 395-406; D. Ausubel, "Relationships Between Shame and Guilt in the Socializing Process," *Psychological Review* 62 (1952): 378-390. Shame has also been comceptualized and studied in terms of its components and mechanisms, J. Tangney, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in the Assessment of Shame and Guilt," *Behaviour Therapy and Research 34* (1996), 741-754; "Situational Determinants of Shame and Guilt in Young Adulthood," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin 18* (1992): 199-206, and "Assessing Individual Differences in Proneness to Shame and Guilt: Development of the Self-conscious Affect and Attribution Inventory," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 59 (1990): 102-111. It has been studied as emotions, cognitions and beliefs about the self, behaviors and actions, evolved mechanisms and interpersonal dynamic interrelationships by A. Buss, *Self-consciousness and Social Anxiety* (San Francisco, CA: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1980); M. Fossum and M Mason, *Facing Shame: Families in Recovery* (New York: Norton, 1986) and J. Harper and M. Hoopes, *Uncovering Shame: An Approach Integrating Individuals and their Family Systems* (New York: Norton, 1990).There are few discussions of shame in education with the exception of references made by G. Kaufman, *Shame: The Power of Caring* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1980); *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing Company 1989); E. Abell, and V. Gecas, "Guilt, Shame and Family Socialization: A Retrospective Study," *Journal of Family Issues* 18. 2 (1997): 99-123, and in doctoral dissertation by T. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of their Training.* (Ann Arbor: Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, UMI Dissertation Service, 1995).

[76] P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 49. For a discussion and a review of the theoretical literature on shame see Teresa F. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of their Training* (Ann Arbor: Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, UMI Dissertation Service, 1995). For a discussion of the attempts of

However we do have some common sense notions about shame. In social terms shame can be seen as designed to cause children to curtail behaviour through negative thoughts and feelings about themselves. It involves a comment – direct or indirect – about what the child is. Shaming operates by giving children a negative image about themselves – rather than about the impact of their behaviour.[77] There are numerous everyday examples of shaming expressions such as: “You naughty boy!” “You’re acting like a spoiled child!” “You selfish brat!” or “You cry-baby!” “Good little boys don’t act that way!” “You’ve been a bad little girl!” “Grow-up!” “Stop acting like a baby!” “Big boys don’t cry!” “Toughen-up!” “Don’t be a sissy!’ and “You’re hopeless!” “Why can’t you be more like so-and-so?” “None of the other kids are acting like you are!” “Shaming makes the child wrong for feeling, wanting and needing something.”[78] According to Grille and MacGregor, shaming is very common and is considered by many to be an appropriate response by adults to teach the child the difference between right and wrong and between good and bad behaviour.[79] A recent study of Canadian schoolchildren in Quebec, by Solomon and Serres, found that only 4% had not been the

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social scientist to develop a theoretical frame for the study of shame, see D. L. Nathanson, *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford, 1987); E. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: WW Norton, 1963); G. Piers and M.P. Singer, *Shame and Guilt* (New York: Norton, 1971); W. Hoblitzelle. (1987). Differentiation and measuring shame and guilt: The relationship between shame and depression in H.B. Lewis, ed., *The Role of Shame in Symptom Formation* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1987), 207-235; H.M. Lynd, *On Shame and the Search for Identity* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1958); H.B. Lewis, *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* (New York: International University Press 1971); S. Levin, “Some Metapsychological Consideration on the Differentiation Between Shame and Guilt,” *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 48 (1967):267-276; T.J. Scheff, “Shame and Conformity: The deference Emotion System,” *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988):395-406 and; L. Wurmser, *The Mask of Shame* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1981).

[77] Robin Grille and Beth MacGregor, “Good’ Children – At what price? The secret cost of shame” *Sydney’s Child* 1 May 2002, 1 http://www.nospank.net/grille3.htm and W. Craig, D. Pepler and R. Atlas, “Obervations of Bullying in the Playground and in the Classroom School,” *Psychology* International 21.1 (2000):23-36.

[78] Robin Grille and Beth Macgregor, 1-2.

[79] Robin Grille and Beth Macgregor, 1-2.

targets of their parents' shaming, including "rejecting, demeaning, terrorising, criticising (destructively), or insulting statements."[80] What was also suggested from the research is that shaming is common and not restricted to "abusive" families but occurs in "nice" families and school environments. Verbal punishment relies on shame as the deterrent, in the same way that corporal punishment relies on pain with shaming as one of the most common methods used to regulate children's behaviour.[81] "No one is born ashamed. It is a learned, self-conscious emotion, which starts at roughly two years of age with the advent of language and self-image."[82]

As I thought about shame as a learned behaviour, the **video rewinds,** evoking feelings, emotions, memories, and **images** of that child in the orphanage, so many years ago, who is about to be punished for some minor misdemeanour; two phrases come to mind: "I'm doing this for your own good!" and "I only have your best interests at heart!" and, of course, that look. That facial expression, you know, that look, indescribable, but you know it. As I think about that look, the **video rewinds** again to the emotions and images of the young artist and shaming episode with Sister Michael Joseph. Instantaneously the **video rewinds** again to images of that slapping moment that was meant to teach what language was appropriate to speak in the orphanage. That look! The look of **disgust,** creating feelings of uncertainty and mistrust between the child and the care-giver, and student and the teacher.

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[80] Robin Grille and Beth Macgregor, 1-2. Also see Ruth Solomon and Francoise Serres, "Effects of Parental Verbal Aggression on Children's Self-esteem and School Marks," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 23. 4 (1999): 339-351. Using the Harter Self-perception Profile for children questionnaire concerning their mothers' and fathers' verbal aggression towards them and their use of physical punishment one hundred and forty-four 10-year-old children in Quebec were researched. The researchers used school records to obtain the subjects' marks in French and Mathematics. The conclusion was that the parental verbal aggression alone contributes to lowering children's self-esteem and school achievement.

[81] Robin Grille and Beth MacGregor, 1-2.

[82] Robin Grille and Beth MacGregor, 3

I wonder how after all these years these thoughts not only trigger emotions I thought were under control but also evoke images that relive the shaming experience.[83] I needed to construct an understanding of how it is that these experiences are relived. Using multidisciplinary evidence, Schore suggests that primordial shame experiences not only play a central role in psychological development but in neurobiological human development as well.[84] The studies describe "the emergence of emotional states over the course of infancy"[85] and "neurobiological research suggests that these early emotional experiences are required for maturation of the brain in the first two years."[86] Using this multidisciplinary research, Schore demonstrates the "tight coupling between the psychobiological processes that underlie attachment and shame dynamics."[87] Over the first year "the primary caregiver-infant relationship co-constructs a complex dynamic system of mutual reciprocal influences that mediates the formation of an attachment bond within the dyad."[88] In Lakota terms this is *Skan,* an animating force or energy. He describes this dyad as an "interactive mechanism that regulates the infant's psychobiological states, thereby allowing the child to tolerate more intense and longer lasting levels of heightened, yet modulated, arousal. This ontogenetic achievement, central to human development, enables the infant to experience very high levels of the positive affects of interest-excitement and enjoyment-joy by the end of the first year."[89] Central to his research is early socioemotional development in the maturation of sensory systems, of which visual experiences play a paramount role in social and emotional development.[90]

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[83] See Fridlund, A. Ekman, P. and Oster, H. "Facial Expressions of Emotion: Review of Literature, 1970-1983," in *Nonverbal Behavior and Communication.* Eds., A. Seligman and S. Feldstein. (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1986); H. B. Lewis, shame as an attachment emotion, "Narcissistic Personality or Shame-prone Superego Mode," *Comparative Psychotherapy* 1 (1980): 59-80, M.D. S. Ainsworth, *Infancy in Uganda: Infant Care and the Growth of Love* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1967) study that created the long-established principle that attachment is more than overt behaviour and is "built into the nervous system, in the course and as a result of the infant's experience of his transactions with the mother" (429) and Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 57-77, argues that "attachment transactions in the first year occur within attuned face-to-face interactions that generate increasingly higher levels of positive affects, whereas socialization transactions in the second year involve misattuned face-to-face interactions that generate shame and inhibit these same positive states" (58).

[84] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 57.

[85] Allan N. Schore, 57.

[86] Allan N. Schore, 57.

[87] Allan N. Schore, 58.

[88] Allan N. Schore, 58.

The research indicates that the care-giver's emotionally expressive face is the most potent visual stimulus in the infant's environment, especially the eyes, and leads the child "to track it in space, and to engage in periods of intense mutual gaze."[91] The infant's gaze evokes the care-giver's gaze "thereby acting as a potent interpersonal channel for the transmission of reciprocal mutual influences" or face-to-face transactions which "mediate the dialogue."[92] "The facial mirroring exchanges "represent a transformation of inner events."[93]

To transform the communication, "the [care-giver] must be psychobiologically attuned not so much to the child's overt behaviour as to the reflections" of the child's internal state.[94] "The human face is a unique stimulus whose features display biologically significant information, and as the [care-giver] and infant synchronize with each other's temporal and affective patterns, each recreates an inner psychophysiological state similar to the partner's."[95] In this dynamic system, "the crescendos and decrescendos of the infant's psychobiological state are in resonance with similar states of crescendos and decrescendos, cross-modally, of the [care-giver]."[96] Physics provides an understanding of resonance, where "a property of resonance is sympathetic vibration, the tendency of one resonance system to enlarge and augment through matching the resonance frequency pattern of another resonance system."[97] These are the inter-related aspects of *Niya* and *Nagi*. Stern refers to this augmenting effect as evident in the delight the infant displays in reacting to the care-giver's playful, empathically attuned behaviour.[98] It is now believed that "attachment relationship is essentially a regulator of arousal, these regulatory processes are the precursors of psychological attachment and its associated emotions, and that psychobiological attunement is the mechanism that mediates attachment bond formation"[99] interrelationships.

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[89] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 58

[90] Allan N. Schore, 58. For a more detailed description of the research and discussion of visual experiences see: R.P. Hobson, "Through feeling and sight through self and symbol," in U. Neisser, ed., *The Perceived Self: Ecological and Interpersonal Sources of Self-knowledge* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 254-279; G.M. Preisler, "The Development of Communication in Blind and in Deaf Infants – Similarities and Differences," *Child: Care, Health and Development* 21 (1995): 79-110 and K. Wright, *Vision and Separation: Between Mother and Baby* (Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1991).

[91] Allan N. Schore, 58-59.

[92] Allan N. Schore, 58-59.

[93] Allan N. Schore, 60.

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[94] Allan N. Schore, 60.
[95] Allan N. Schore, 60.
[96] Allan N. Schore, 60.
[97] Allan N. Schore, 60.
[98] D.N. Stern, *The Interpersonal World of the Infant* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).
[99] B. A. van der Kolk, and R.E. Fisler, "Childhood Abuse and Neglect and Loss of Self-regulation," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* 58 (1994):145-168; M. A. Hofer, "Hidden Regulators in Attachment, Separation, and Loss," *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development* 59 (1994): 192-207, and T. Field, "Attachment as Psychobiological Attunement: Being on the Same Wavelength," in M. Reite and T Field, eds., *The Psychobiology of Attachment and Separation* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985), 415-454; and S. Petrovich and J. Gewirtz, "The Attachment Learning Process and its Relation to Culture and Biological Evolution: Proximate and Ultimate Considerations," in M. Reite and T. Fields, eds., *The Psychobiology of Attachment and Separation* (Orlando, Fl: Academic Press, 1985), 259-291.

Particularly significant in Schore's research is that vision is central to imprinting, the learning mechanism that underlies attachment formation.[100] Vision is central to the establishment of a primary attachment to the care-giver, and imprinting is the learning mechanism that underlies attachment bond formation. Imprinting involves a state of mutually entrained central nervous system (CNS) propensities synchronized between sequential infant-maternal stimuli and behaviour at the neurobiological level.[101]

In Trevarthen's studies, maternal-infant stimuli and behaviour are described as protoconversations, the interactive mechanism by which older brains engage with mental states of awareness, emotion, and interest in younger brains.[102] As interpreted by Schore, the coordination of eye-to-eye messages as channels of communication encompass auditory vocalization and tactile and body gestures. "A traffic of visual and variations in pitch, rhythm, and auditory stress that convey affect signals induce instant emotional effects; excitement and pleasure are amplified within the dyad."[103] This amplification and resonance of the dyad "ultimately permits the intercoordination of positive affective brain states."[104] Trevarthen's study is seen by Schore to "underscore the fundamental principle that the baby's brain is not only affected by these transactions, but also that its growth literally requires brain-brain interaction and occurs in the context of a positive affective relationship between [the care-giver] and infant."[105] In fact "the affective regulations of brain growth" are embedded in the context of an intimate relationship and that they promote the development of cerebral circuits that mature near the end of the first year of life.[106] Schore concludes that "attachment experiences, face-to-face transactions between care-giver and infant, directly influence imprinting, the final circuit wiring of this system."[107] Research now shows that "activity of the orbitofrontal cortex, an area which contains neurons that specifically respond to the emotional expressions of faces, is directly associated with attachment functions" and that the cortical region "plays an essential role in the processing of social signals necessary for the initiation of affiliative behaviour and in the pleasurable qualities of social interaction."[108] It is now thought that "the emotional experience of the infant develops through the sounds, images, and pictures that constitute much of the infant's early learning experience, and are disproportionately store or processed in the visuospatial right hemisphere during the formative states of brain ontogeny."[109] By the end of the first year, "a period when the infant begins to toddle and explore the world, the child can access internal working models of the infant's transactions with the primary attachment figure in order to appraise self and other in encounters with the social and physical environments."[110]

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[100] For a more detail and technical discussion, see J. Bowlby, *Attachment and Loss: Vol. 1 Attachment* (New York: Basic Books, 1969) and "Attachment and Loss," in M. Masud and R. Khan, eds., *Separation and Anger 2. Psycho-Analytical Library 95* (London: Hogarth Press, 1973).

[101] See S. B. Petrovich, and J. L. Gewirtz, "The Attachment Learning Process and its Relation to Culture and Biological Evolution: Proximate and Ultimate Considerations," in M. Reite and T. Fields, eds., *The Psychobiology of Attachment and Separation* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985), 259-291.

[102] C. Trevarthen, "The Self Born in Intersubjectivity: The Psychology of an Infant Communicating," in U. Neisser, ed., *The Perceived Self: Ecological and Interpersonal Sources of Self-knowledge* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 121-173.

[103] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 60-61.

[104] Allan N. Schore, 61.

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[105] Allan N. Schore, 61.

[106] Allan N. Schore, 61-62.

[107] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 62.

[108] Allan N. Schore, 63. See S.P.O. Scalaidhe, F. Wilson, and P. Goldman-Rakic, "A Real Segregation of Face-processing Neurons in Prefrontal Cortex," *Science* 278 (1997): 1135-1138, and H.D. Steklis and A. Kling, "Neurobiology of Affiliative Behaviour in Nonhuman Primates," in M. Reite and T. Field, eds., *The Psychobiology of Attachment and Separation* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1985), 367-134.

[109] Allan N. Schore, 64. Also see D. Falk, C. Cheverud, J. Vannier, M. Helmkamp, and L. Konigsberg., "Cortical Asymmetries in Frontal Lobes of Rhesus Monkeys (Macaca mulatta)," *Brain Research* 512 (1990): 40-45; C. Chiron, I. Jambaque, R. Lounes, A. Syrota, and O. Dulac, "The Right Brain Hemisphere is Dominant in Human Infants," *Brain* 120, (1997): 1057-1065; M. Semrud-Clikeman and G.W. Hynd, "Right Hemisphere Dysfunction in Non-verbal Learning Disabilities: Social, Academic, and Adaptive Functioning in Adults and Children," *Psychological Bulletin* 107 (1990): 196-209; H. Barbas, " Anatomic Basis of Cognitive-emotional Interactions in the Primate Prefrontal cortex," *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 19 (1995): 499-510; and B. Beebe and F.M. Lachman, "The Contribution of

At this time in an "optimal growth-promoting environments, the interactive mechanism for generating positive affect becomes so efficient …the infant …experiences very high levels of elation and excitement."[111] The research indicates that at about ten months the socioemotional environment of the caregiver-infant dyad changes dramatically. For the first ten months or so ninety percent of maternal behaviour consists of affection, play, and care-giving. "In sharp contrast, the [care-giver of the thirteen to seventeen month-old] toddler expresses a prohibition on the average of every nine minutes."[112] In the second year the change is dramatic, the care-giver's role changes from a primarily care-giver to a socializing agent, as the child must be persuaded "to inhibit unrestricted exploration, tantrums, bladder and bowel functions; activities they enjoy."[113] It is at this time, Schore's multidisciplinary development data suggests that shame makes its initial appearance, at around fourteen to sixteen months.[114]

In the ambulatory state the infant can now physically separate from the care-giver and explore the realms of the physical and social environment and return from these forays of exploring and attempts to master to the care-giver, but now Schore

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Mother-Infant Mutual Influence to the Origins of Self-and–Object Relationships," *Psychoanalytic Psychology* 5 (1988): 305-337.

[110] Allan N. Schore, 64.

[111] Allan N. Schore, 64.

[112] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 64.

[113] Allan N. Schore, 64.

[114] Allan N. Schore, 64.

argues, "More than any time previously, these reunions can engender interactive stress."[115] Upon the infant's return, expecting "sparkling-eyed pleasure" the toddler is suddenly and unpreparedly confronted with the "unexpected noncooperating of the mirroring object."[116] It is at this point that the face-to-face encounters that were once joyful experiences now become the "principal context for stressful shame experiences"[117] – the initiation of the shaming experience. To socialize the child, the care-giver now engages in affect regulation using one very specific inhibitor of accelerating pleasurable emotional states – Shame.[118] The shame experience is intimately associated with "unfulfilled expectations triggered by an appraisal of a disturbance in facial recognition, the most salient of nonverbal communication."[119]

Schore, using Riess' study, states, "reciprocal gaze behaviour … acts as a powerful mediator of affect attunement, but also transmits misattunement, because the feedback system carries within it the potential of mutual gratification as well as frustration."[120] In this instance the facial display does not convey mirroring, but disgust.[121] The disgusted face, according to Lewis, is widely used in the socialization of children although parents are often unaware that they are producing it during behavioural interaction with children.[122] In other words, "in the prototypical object relation of shame, a separation response is triggered in the presence of and by the [care-giver], who spontaneously and unconsciously blockades the child's initial attempt to emotionally reconnect with [the care-giver] in a positive affective state."[123] When the mother does not reinitiate physical contact and a mutual resonance gaze, a negative affect is transmitted.

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[115] Allan N. Schore, 65.

[116] Allan N. Schore, 65. See R.N. Emde, "Development Terminable and Interminable: 1. Innate and Motivational Factors from Infancy," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 69 (1988): 23-42, and H. Kohut, "Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage," in P. Ornstein, ed., *The Search for the Self.* (New York: International University Press, 1978).

[117] Allan N. Schore, 65.

[118] What Scheff calls "the primary social emotion" acts as a specific inhibitor of the activated ongoing affects of interest-excitement and enjoyment-joy and uniquely reduces self-exposure or exploration powered by these positive affects appears supported by the Cooley-Scheff's conformity conjecture. T. J. Scheff, "Shame and Conformity: The Deference-emotion System," *American Review of Sociology* 53 (1988): 397 and S Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: Vol.2. The Negative Affects* (New York: Springer 1963).

[119] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 65.

[120] A. Riess, "The Mother's Eye: For Better and For Worse," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 33 (1978): 382.

[121] Allan N. Schore, 65.

This is the definitive act that differentiates for me shaming and non-shaming initiation to modify social behaviour. If positive contact (a friendly, understanding, visual and physical brace) is restored shortly after the behaviour episode, then shaming is not initiated, yet the child still learns how to modulate these stressful experiences. Sister Michael Joseph's refusal to speak to me during the remainder of the class is an explicit example of a shaming episode. Schore goes on to state, "in direct contrast to the psychobiologically energized state, shame, an acutely painful stress-associated affect, triggers a rapid de-energizing state in the infant in which the deflated self, depleted of energy, withdraws, recoils, and attempts to disappear from the view of significant objects."[124] Shame, as opposed to processes that promote and prolong contact facilitating merging with sources of satisfaction, induces ending contact and halting arousal;[125] "a switch from an attachment-affiliation or exploratory-assertive to an aversive motivational functional system, shame stress thus precipitates a rapid and unexpected contraction of the self."[126]

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[122] See M. Lewis, *Shame: The Exposed Self* (New York: The Free Press, 1992).

[123] Allan N. Schore, 65-66.

[124] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 65-66.

[125] See P.H. Knapp, "Purging and Curbing: An Inquiry into Disgust, Satiety and Shame," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 144 (1967): 514-544.

The critical point is the care-givers' capacity to monitor and regulate their own affect.[127] If the caregiver is sensitive, responsive, and emotionally approachable, and re-initiates a mutual gaze, the dyad is psychobiologically re-attuned, the shame energy is regulated, the attachment bond is re-established, and these events are stored within an "internal working model" of a secure attachment.[128] With this kind of dyadic relationship and the care-giver's capacity to monitor and regulate their own emotional state in a positive affect interaction, there is **no shame experience**. When I consider the emotional state of the child and correct behaviour in a positive way, which is through modelling, removing the child from danger, and correcting through explanation, then positive affect is an external modification or socializing that maintains internal attachment. It teaches the child self-restraint through the experience of modulated emotion consistent with its previous attuned socioemotional environment.

On the other hand, if the care-giver frequently humiliates, ridicules, and rejects the infant's requests for comfort in stressful situations, the internal working model of the care-giver is rejection and of the infant as being unworthy of help and comfort.[129] Active parental participation in regulating the infant's shame state is central to the child's ability to cope or not cope with negative and positive affect.[130] "Clinical observers note that failures of early attachment invariably become sources of shame, that impairments in the parent-child relationship lead to pathology through an enduring disposition to shame, and that early abuse engenders intense bodily shame."[131] These clinical observations imply **that shame is not inherent in human organisms** but is an early developing inefficient capacity to autoregulate or interactively regulate the imprinted, potent affect that is "psychopathogenic."[132] Therefore specific emotions such as shame and love are now understood to involve a distinctive "core relational theme" which are described as essentially person-environment relationships[133] that are elicited by an appraisal of actual or expected changes that are important to the individual.[134] "Shame is directly related to visual phenomena; the core relational shame transaction becomes internalized in implicit, procedural memory as a visual stored image."[135] Nathanson describes shame as "a biological system by which the organism controls its affective output so that it will not remain interested or content when it may not be safe to do so, or so that it will not remain in affective resonance with an organism that fails to match its patterns stored in memory"[136]

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[126] Allan N. Schore, 66.
[127] Allan N. Schore, 67.
[128] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 67.
[129] Allan N. Schore, 67.
[130] Allan N. Schore, 66-67.

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[131] Allan N. Schore, 67. Also see G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer, 1989); M. Lewis, *Shame: The Exposed Self* (New York: The Free Press 1992); and B. Andrews, "Bodily Shame as a Mediator Between Abusive Experiences and Depression," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 104. 2 (1995): 277-285

[132] Allan N. Schore, 67.

[133] See R.S. Lazarus, "Progress on a Cognitive-Motivational-Relational Theory of Emotion," *American Psychologist* 46 (1991): 819-834.

[134] See N.M. Frijda, "The Laws of Emotion," *American Psychologist* 43 (1988): 349-358.

[135] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 68.

[136] D.L. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: Norton, 1992), 140.

When viewed from a human ethological,[137] interdisciplinary, cross-cultural and empirical research perspective, shame is not a universal emotion as suggested by Greenwald and Harder.[138] What appears to be hardwired into the brain's neural circuitry by natural selection and social interaction are particular responses to environmental stimuli. Ethological research is supported and complemented by Schore, Tomkins, and Ekman.[139] According to Tomkins, affect is primarily facial behaviour and secondly a body behaviour, particularly an outer skeletal and inner visceral (an instinctual rather than from reasoned thinking) behaviour.[140] Eibl-Eibesfeldt assigns visceral behaviour to an innate phylogenetically adaptive pre-programmed process; [141] "Just as an eye develops through a process of self-differentiation as a direct result of developmental instructions encoded in its genes, so many behaviours develop."[142] With regards to environmental factors, they "include internal and external ones, and there is often some causal relationship between the two. External influences cause internal changes, and these likewise stimulate change in structure and behaviour as well."[143] In other words, some of the environmental factors are part of the genetically based developmental programs[144] which are not instinctual but innate, being synonymous with phylogenetically adapted growth. In Tomkins' work, affect theory or feelings are differentially activated by the density of neural firing or stimulation. The source of neural firing can be either internal or external. For example, when the density of neural firing suddenly increases, human beings will startle, become afraid, or become interested; when neural firing reaches and maintains a high, constant level of stimulation, in excess of the optimal, the human being will respond with anger or distress. When neural firing suddenly decreases, the human being will laugh or smile with enjoyment. It is the suddenness of the decrease in stimulation that determines the

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[137] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology*. (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), defines ethology as the biology of human behavior. "If one's interests lies in the function of the underlying physiological mechanisms, then human ethology becomes allied with traditional behavioral physiology. Here we are dealing with an explanation of the proximate cause of a behavior pattern. … the stimuli that trigger specific responses, how the coordination for muscle action is achieved," (4) that motivates and terminates behavior. Human ethology can also be seen as the biology of human behaviour with the objective of elucidating the physiological mechanisms underlying behavior, the selective pressures to which the behaviour owes its existence, behavioral development in ontogeny, phylogeny, and cultural history of human programming through phylogenetically acquired adaptation (6), M. Chance, "An Ethological Assessment of Emotion," in R. Plutchik and H. Kellerman, eds., *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience* (New York: Academic, 1980); Plutchik, R. *Emotion: A Psychoevolutionary Synthesis* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980) and J. Fajans, "The Ups and Downs of Baining Personhood: Ethnopsychology among the Baining," in G. White and J Kirkpatrick, eds., *Person, Self and Experience: Exploring Pacific Ethnopsychologies* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985); "Shame, Social Action, and the Person Among the Baining," *Ethos* Fall 11. 3 (1983): 166-180.

[138] D.F. Greenwald and D.W. Harder, "Domains of Shame: Evolutionary, Cultural, and Psychotherapeutic Aspects," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 225-245.

[139] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experience and Infant Brain Development," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 57-77; S. Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Positive Affects, Vol. 1* (New York: Springer, 1962); S. Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The Negative Affects, Vol. 2* (New York: Springer; 1963); and S. Tomkins. *Affect Theory,* in P. Ekman, ed. *Emotion in the Human Face* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[140] S. Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: The positive Affects, Vol. 1* (New York: Springer, 1962), 205-206.

[141] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt. Organisms are energy-acquiring systems with a positive energy balance. "The life processes are maintained by the multiplicity of organisms and by those energy-acquiring systems developed by them. Energetic process presupposes structures at its disposal that are adapted to the appropriate energy transformation. Each organism must possess structures with which it can extract energy from the environment. These structures are adapted to the to the appropriate energy sources, that is, they are so constructed that they can tap the specific energy sources and thus aid in the maintenance of the energy-acquiring system. The environment is not only the source of energy but also the source of a

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multitude of interfering and even harmful influences against which the organism must protect itself. Organisms must also repair damage and be able to transform their positive energy into the procreation of their species. … there are a multitude of adaptations that require energy investment, such as reproduction, growth, protection, and similar tasks, which enter the balance as costs. Since organisms live in an ever-changing environment, they must be able to modify their adaptations in response to these changes. This may even require changes in their basic construction. Thus a fin of a fish, as well as the motor program for its use, both develop prior to hatching within the egg, represent assumptions about the environment in which the fish is going to live. As a prerequisite for adaptation to occur, an interaction between the adapted organismic system and its environment must take place. During phylogeny, variants of the phenotype, brought about by genetic changes, are tested by selection as to their adaptedness and the genotypes for adaptive traits retained. Phylogenetic adaptation is supplemented by adaptation via learning and individual experience, and, in humans, also via traditions." (7 and 16).

[142] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 7 and 16.

[143] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 7 and 16.

[144] See H. Spemann, *Embryonic Development and Induction*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938) and R. W. Sperry, "How the Brain Gets Wired for Adaptive Function," in E. Tobach, L.R. Aronson, and E. Shaw, eds., *The Biopsychology of Development* (London: Academic Press, 1971): 27-44.

expressive movements of the face that indicates the emotional states. Physiologically, the face can only express six emotions: surprise, fear, joy, sadness, disgust, and anger, that are universally recognized across cultures. [145] This research suggests that any other emotions such as shame or guilt or shyness are socially constructed from accepted language, theories, and treatment paradigms.

"Phenomenologically shame has been described as a self-conscious awareness that one is being viewed, or might be viewed, by others with an unflattering gaze.[146] Experiences of embarrassment, inadequacy, ridicule, and humiliation are variants of shame."[147] The other contrasting affect, guilt, "involves a feeling of remorse for what was done, or not done, that could harm another."[148]

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[145] See studies by J. Panksepp, "Toward a General Psychobiological Theory of Emotions," *Behavorial. Brain Science.* 5 (1982): 407-467; "Mood Changes," in J.A.M. Frederiks, ed., *Handbook of Clinical Neurology* 1. 45 (1985): 271-285; C.H. Hjortsjo, *Man's Face and Mimic Language* (Malmo: Studentlitteratur, 1969); P. Ekman and W.V. Friesen, *Unmasking the Face* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall; 1975); "Measuring Facial Movements," *Environmental. Psychology. Nonverbal Behavior.* 1 (1976): 56-75; *Facial Action Coding System* (Palo Alto, C.A.: Consulting Psychologists Press, 1978), P. Ekman,. W Friesen. and P. Ellsworth,. *Emotion in the Human Face: Guidelines for Research and an Integration of Feelings.* New York: Yale University Press, 1972 and Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989).

[146] In sociological terms the theory of gaze has been expressed as *The Looking-Glass Self.* C.H. Cooley, *Human Nature and Social Order* (New York: Scribner, 1922 [1902]).

> Greenwald and Harder describe shame as a public experience of exposure or possible exposure, whereas guilt is more an internal affair. Shame implies a reduction in one's standing vis-à-vis others of conduct disapproved of by them. In contrast to guilt, where condemnation comes only from the self, shame makes the sufferer want to shrink away from others.[149]

This research not only **clearly articulates shame as a learned behaviour** but one that imprints images of those experiences that elicit particular responses that are identity shaping.

According to Wright and Morrison, although the origins of shame are dyadic and external, an experience of being looked at by the other, it eventually becomes internalized as the self gazing inward.[150] By late infancy, the shame affect does not require the presence of the other; it can now be activated by an internal image.[151] Schore and Morrison assert "that turning the potential control of shame inward is an important developmental step. Most important, because shame generally inhibits the expression of emotion *per se*, the capacity to internally regulate shame allows for an ability to experience a broad range of positive and negative affects."[152] As such the "orbitofrontal system" acts as a recovery mechanism that "monitors and autoregulates the duration, frequency, and intensity of not only positive but also negative affect states, including stressful shame states."[153] The literature discusses the recovery mechanism as producing particular responses. Powles' conservation-withdrawal response is characterized as a state, "in which the inhibited organism passively disengages in order to attempt to become "unseen," as the organismic strategy to conserve energies and strive to avoid attention, to foster survival by the risky posture of feigning death, to allow healing of wounds and restitution of depleted resources by immobility."[154] A second response of homestasis, the attempt to create a state of relative equilibrium or harmony, can "allow for a passive coping mechanism to improve survival efficiency through inactive disengagement and unresponsiveness to environmental input in order to conserve resources and to assure organismic autonomy until environmental conditions are once again more compatible."[155] A third response counter "to sympathetically driven 'fight-flight' active coping strategies, parasympathetically mediated passive coping mechanisms [are] expressed in immobility and withdrawal associated with "giving up"[156] and submission[157] and in seeking a physical environment of "refuge," a place to hide without being seen,[158] represent an alternative but equivalent strategy for effectively regulating social interactional stress.[159] A fourth response, "problem focused coping," entails direct action on the self or on the environment (an assertive response on the other) to remove the source of stress, this "emotion focused coping" is directed toward the reduction of the emotional impact of stress through psychological processes.[160] As such, the "physiological expression of emotional response "is dependent upon the coordinated responses of both the sympathetic and parasympathetic components [calmness and rest centres] of the autonomic nervous system (ANS), and this allows for parasympathetically dominant shame states to combine with sympathetically driven states of, for example, fear, anger, and joy."[161] When I consider the four possible responses to continued shaming episodes, I see in each story, *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's*, *Jill's* and my own, an attempt to protect ourselves by hiding in reading, drawing, and assertive response followed by resignation (shutting down).

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[147] D.F. Greenwald and D.W. Harder, "Domains of Shame: Evolutionary, Cultural, and Psychotherapeutic Aspects," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 226. Also see T. J. Ferguson, H. Stegge, and I Damhuis, "Children's Understanding of Guilt and Shame," *Child Development* 62 (1991): 827-839; T. Ferguson, H. Stegge, and M. Olsen, "Guilt, Shame, and Symptoms in Children," *Developmental Psychology* 35. 2 347-357; D. W. Harder, "Shame and Guilt Assessment, and Relationship of Shame-and-Guilt Proneness to Psychopathology," in J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer, eds., *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press, 1991), 368-392; D. Harder, C. Cutler, and L. Rockart, "Assessment of Shame and Guilt and their Relationships to Psychopathology," *Journal of Personality Assessment 59* (1992): 584-604; S. Fischer, "Identity of two: The Phenomenology of Shame in Borderline Development and Treatment," *Psychotherapy* 22 (1985) 101-109; R. S. Lazarus, *Emotion and Adaptation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); H. B. Lewis, *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* (New York: International Universities Press, 1971); J. Lindsay-Hartz, J. de Rivera, and M. F. Mascolo, "Differentiating Guilt and Shame and Their Effects on Motivation," in J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer, eds., *Self-Conscious Emotions: The psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995), 274-300; J. Tangney, "Situational Determinants of Shame and Guilt in Young Adulthood," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 18 (1992): 199-206; F. W. Wicker, G. C. Payne, and R. D. Morgan, "Participant Descriptions of Guilt and Shame," *Motivation and Emotion* 7 (1983): 25-39.

[148] D.F. Greenwald and D.W. Harder, "Domains of Shame: Evolutionary, Cultural, and Psychotherapeutic Aspects," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 226.

[149] Greenwald et al., p. 227.

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[150] See K. Wright, *Vision and Separation: Between Mother and Dad.* (Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1991) and A. Morrison, "The Eye Turned Inward: Shame and the Self," in D.L. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford Press, 1987), 271-291.

[151] See A. Morrison, *Shame: The Underside of Narcissism* (Hillsdale, NJ: Analytic Press, 1989).

[152] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experiences in Infant Brain Development" in Paul Gilbert and Bernice Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 68.

[153] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experience and Infant Brain Development," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 70. There is now a large body of evidence which indicates that negative emotions activate and are modulated by the right (not left) hemisphere. See R. Davidson, P Ekman, C. Saron, J. Senulis, and W. Friesen, "Approach-Withdrawal and Cerebral Asymmetry: Emotion Expression and Brain Physiology: 1," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 58 (1990): 330-341; K. Heilman and D. Bowers 1990. "Neuropsychological Studies of Emotional Changes Induced by Right and Left Hemisphere Studies," in N. Stein, B. Leventhal and T. Trabasso, eds., *Psychological and Biological Approaches to Emotion* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum 1990); W. Heller. "Neuropsychological Mechanisms of Individual Differences in Emotion, Personality, and Arousal," *Neuropsychology* 7 (1993): 476-489; and A. N. Schore, "The Early Organization of the Nonlinear Right Brain and the Development of a Predisposition to Psychiatric Disorders," *Development and Psychopathology* 9 (1997): 595-631. This hemisphere, which contains a "primitive affect system" M. S. Gazzaniga, *The Social Brain: Discovering the Networks of the Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1985) and a "nonverbal affect lexicon" of facial expressions, D. Bowers, R. M. Bauer, and K. M. Heilman, "The Nonverbal Affect Lexicon: Theoretical Perspectives from Neuropsychological Studies of Affect Perception," *Neuropsychology* 7 (1993): 433-444, is dominant for the regulation of the autonomic correlates of emotional arousal, K. M. Heilman, H. Schwartz, and R. T. Watson, "Hypoarousal in Patients with the Neglect Syndrome and Emotional Indifference," *Neuropsychology* 7 (1977): 476-489. These data strongly suggest that "primitive, biologically based" shame, F. J. Broucek, "Shame and its Relationship to Early Narcissistic Developments," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis* 63 (1991):369-378, perhaps the most painful and least tolerable negative affect, is a right-brain phenomenon. Indeed, a neuropsychological study shows that the words "shame" and "humiliation," when presented tachistoscopically, specifically activate and prime the right hemisphere, J. W. Van Strien and M. Morpugo, "Opposite hemisphere activations as a result of emotionally threatening and non-threatening words," *Neuropsychology* 9 (1992): 845-848).

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[154] W.E. Powles, *Human Development and Homeostasis* (Madison: International University Press, 1992), 213.

[155] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experience and Infant Brain Development," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 70-71 and G. Engel and A.H. Schmale,"Conservation-withdrawal: A Primary Regulatory Homeostasis," in *Physiology, Emotion, and Psychosomatic Illness. CIBA Foundation Symposium* 8 (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1972): 57-85.

[156] R. F. Benus, B. Bohus, J. Koolhass, and G. Van Oortmersen, "Heritable Variation for Aggression as a Reflection of Individual Coping Strategies," *Experientia* 47 (1991): 1008-1019.

[157] P. Gilbert, *Depression: The Evolution of Powerlessness* (New York: Guilford Press, 1992).

[158] J. S. Mealey and P. Theis, "The Relationship Between Mood and Preferences Among Natural Landscapes: An Evolutionary Perspective," *Ethology and Sociobiology* 16 (1995): 247-256.

[159] Allan N. Schore, 71-72.

The research suggests to me that shame is not initially an inherent state but one that is imprinted and learned through inappropriate modulating of the child's internal emotional state. For example, one might think of it as being analogous to computer hardware. Over time the hardware is adapted to account for growing environmental needs; however there is an initiating program that directs the hardware components to activate the system. Once the system is activated, input program stimuli shape the function and activities of the system. Similarly, the child has the neurological systems and initial program that activates and preserves the well being of the child and is further programmed from the environment. That programming is environmentally and culturally directed – called socialization.

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[160] Allan N. Schore, 71-72 and S. Folkman and R. S. Lazarus, "An Analysis of Coping in a Middle-aged Community Sample," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 21 (1980): 219-239.

[161] Allan N. Schore, "Early Shame Experience and Infant Brain Development," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 72.

This suggests from a Siouan perspective, that in cultures that do not socialize an awareness of the trickster, the internal state is not considered, parents react to overt behaviour with responses that are culturally acceptable with phrases such as, "don't be a sissy" and with corporal punishment to instil fear. Shame imprinting may be hidden from the new mother and consequently unintended. However, once the mother starts socializing the child, the child's response to admonishment demonstrates the effect of her look, words and actions, and ought to trigger an awareness of the child's internal state beyond her own cultural socialization. The reaction is obvious but ignored because the parent's reaction is probably the way she was treated by her parents and is perceived as culturally acceptable.

It seems obvious when I consider *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* story. There are two different world views about how parents culturally socialize their children. One seems to be rationalized as a moral imperative "the ends justify the means" and the other as an ethical imperative where the focus is on "the means with an undetermined end." In the latter case, an indigenous perspective, appropriate behaviour is modelled and children are allowed to develop through exploration and encouraged to develop their interests and aptitudes indirectly guided by the kinship community – the ethic of non-interference. In *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* and other indigenous people's experience, there was a direct attempt to interfere with the development of the children where native culturally acceptable behaviour was defined as evil. It was a process of direct interference with intended shaming and punishment that was acceptable in the shamers' cultural socialization. The shamed become the shamers, as a rite of passage[162] or as the agents of cultural fitness. This explicit shaming is evident in *Jill's* story as well.

As I thought about socialization that is imprinting, bonding and normative behaviour, I returned to the stories of *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew* and *Jill*. I now see my childhood socialization as situated between the bonding experiences of *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew* and *Jill*.

> *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew*
>
> *Um.. I went to boarding school when I was seven and a half years old. I was picked up by Indian Affairs and taken to ..um.. boarding school, my mother was able to come with me. And she stood at .. [sigh].. at the bottom of the stairs while .. [voice breaks].. I was taken kicking and screaming into the .. [pause].. up the stairs into the building. I knew dat she was leaving me..uh. I bit the principal, ..uh..on the hand, .. [sniffle].. I guess dat was .. um ..[sniffle].. dat's one thing, I've always been .. always been kind of proud of dat at least I fought all the way to ..um.. to this place. [sniffle] um..*
>
> *... at home everything dat you loved you had to reject. [sigh] And dat included .. uh.. furr.. because you couldn't differentiate between the ..um.. philosophy and ..uh ..[pause].. and the person, at lot of times dat meant ..ta.. rejecting the person that taught you dat philosophy that was shameful of course. So ... I and you couldn't change that love you felt for those, those people who taught you your Native background at home and then you were taught at school that you have to reject that, dat is evil because you were going to burn in hell forever and ..*
>
> *Jill*
>
> *[M]oving from my home and going to school it was overwhelming.*
>
> *I hated school as a young child and all the way through. I think it started for me getting on a school bus, because I lived in a rural community, the actual leaving of a safe space of home. The moment I*

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[162] T. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of Their Training* (Doctoral Dissertation, Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1995).

> *stepped onto that school bus, the moment I walked from my house and stood out along the road, I was moving into a public space and I guess the school bus was sort of a lull between happiness and terror. I liked my teacher in grade one, I don't remember feeling that I disliked her, I was afraid. When I was in grade two, I had this older women for a teacher and one day she basically told me that I was a little whore because my skirt got ripped off of my dress. I played with boys and lots of more rougher kinds of things than I suppose some of the other girls did. I was up in the tree and they yanked on my skirt because we were playing tag, it was a natural thing to do, and if I'd been at home, my mom wouldn't have done that, my mom would have said, maybe you better put on pants, if you're going to play in the trees. I had no respect for [the teacher] from that moment on.*
>
> *What the teacher didn't know was that love basically that my mom had.*
>
> *I can remember just going places with my dad, like walking out to a field or being with the horses. In the early years, the horses would pull the wagons, he was putting on the team and I'd be able to ask him about stuff and he'd tell me. He'd say well it works like this or it works like that.*
>
> *[W]hat my dad taught me and helped me to see, helped me to feel, has profoundly influenced the person that I've become.*

Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's and *Jill's* expressions of loving parents' and fear of separation raised questions for me about my childhood. Bonding, imprinting, and love and fear, as evident from Schore's research, are intimately related to shame formation. I was taken away from my mother at an early age - my memory only extends back to the age of about two or three. After being placed in several foster care homes, I was eventually placed in orphanages first in Montreal and then in Ottawa at about the age of four. I was adopted into a French-Irish family at eight years old.[163] Although I felt some attachment to my adopted family, I cannot say that I had a loving relationship. When I think about *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* and *Jill's* home experiences, I see them as loving attachments to primary socialization agents and schools as secondary socialization agents. When I look back to my remembered socialization, I see only the secondary socialization agents of the State, which for me personally, in a real sense, are the primary agents of socialization. If Schore is right that imprinting, bonding, and love are conditioned in terms of positive and negative affects then how might I explain my sociability? As I pondered this question I was drawn into the Lakota understanding of the third world and ethology research.

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[163] After about thirty years of searching I finally acquired some information from children's aid and I learned about my foster care experiences.

> The third world is the organic world excluding humans, viewed as people: one legged, two legged, three legged, and four legged. The understanding is that the world is not empty. Everywhere there is life, visible and invisible, and every object possessed something that would be good for us to have also – even the stones. The winds, insects, plants, water creatures, and the animals provide instruction, knowledge, guidance, and advice. The animals and plants could teach us how to live and survive in a particular location or more generally in the world.

The question now became what is the basis of my sociability? Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt,[164] using cross-cultural and empirical research, defines sociability as developing from several evolutionary steps:

> The bonding characteristic, appetence (longing or desire) for partner proximity and compatibility, occurs in fishes, which seek protection from predators in schools and in such cases signals develop for the sake of maintaining group integrity and communicating the presence of danger, with

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[164] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989) and "Strategies of Social Interaction," in R. Plutchik and H. Kellerman, eds., *Emotion: Theory, Research, and Experience* New York: Academic, 1980.

> the appearance of parent-offspring signals, infantile appeals, and the corresponding affectionate responses, behaviour became available that permitted adults to create friendly and affectionate relationships. The "invention" of parental care constitutes a turning point in the behavioral evolution of the higher vertebrates and insects. Parental care occurred independently in insects, birds and mammals providing the impetus for analogous rituals of bonding.[165]

According Eibl-Eibesfeldt, the second, "propitious event" in individual bonding in vertebrate evolution, begins with parental care and is the "springboard for love."[166] "Mother-child relationships developed independently and repeatedly in birds and mammals, wherein parents and young actively seek each other's presence [a] personalized bond develops immediately after birth or hatching and bears some similarity to an imprinting process." [167] Similar, to Schore's analysis, "[those] species with personalized mother-offspring bonding also maintain the primary mother-young contact with a repertoire of infantile signals to which the mother reacts innately."[168] There is a dyadic relationship, where the young, "is tuned to respond to corresponding maternal stimuli."[169] Mothers understand the distress call of their species young and respond immediately by rushing to their rescue. Eibl-Eibesfeldt argues, "the decisive further developmental stage for humans was the individualized bonding between mother and child (based on recognition of specific individuals, for with it developed love …."[170]

> Sociability can be seen as having developed in several evolutionary steps. Appetence for partner proximity … But the development of parental care was prerequisite for more elaborately differentiated

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[165] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), 167.
[166] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 169.
[167] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), 167-168.
[168] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 167-168.
[169] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 167-168.
[170] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 167-168.

> forms of social life. With its development, mother-child signals came into existence. Behavioral patterns of affection and infantile appeals were preadaptations from which adult bonding behaviours were derived. Friendliness evolved with parental care. In a further decisive evolutionary step, came the capability of forming individualized (personal) bonds. Initially it was used to secure longer lasting mother-offspring bonds in species with an extended parental caring period. But it also gave origin to love, defined personal bonding. Behavioral patterns associated with infant care also permitted the bonding of individuals not closely related by blood, so as to form closed cooperative groups that act as units.[171]

For Eibl-Eibesfeldt, a "highly significant event for the development of vertebrate sociability was the evolution of maternal care by which friendliness came into existence."[172] He logically states, "[f]or only with the appearance of parent-offspring signals, infantile appeals, and corresponding affectionate responses behaviour became available that permitted adults to create friendly and affectionate relationships." Therefore, "[t]he 'invention' of parental care constitutes a turning point in the behavioural evolution of the higher vertebrates and insects" and concludes that the independent occurrence in insects, birds, and mammals of parental care provided the impetus for analogous rituals of bonding we see in human relationships.[173]

In similar ways, human relationships are characterized by ambivalence. For example, at the age of five or six months, infants demonstrate the first indications of fear of strangers. Prior to this time they will smile at virtually anyone who approaches them; thereafter they make clear distinctions between those they know and others. Infants continue to smile at close acquaintances, but strangers evoke avoidance responses.[174] Empirical research[175] demonstrates that an infant's (five to ten months old) pulse rate increases dramatically upon the approach of a stranger, even if the stranger approaches with friendly words. The child breaks off contact and regulates his/her own level of excitation by avoiding visual contact. When the child diverts his/her eyes, its pulse rate decreases rapidly. In terms of shame, "[s]ince we know that children display fear towards a stranger even if they have never had a bad experience with an unfamiliar person, we can presume that they react innately with fear response to some specific characteristics of the stranger.[176] At this stage shy responses are not indicative of shame as suggested in the shame literature.[177] As the neurological system develops, it provides the propensity for shame that has to be imprinted externally. Other research indicates that apart from the eyes, other signals are significant.[178] Children born blind, and blind and deaf, display fear of strangers through the recognition of strangers by their voices, and by tactile and olfaction sensations that distinguish individuals. In his cultural studies Eibl-Eibesfeldt observed infantile xenophobia and states, that it is an "important component of the human behavioural repertoire,"a phylogenetic adaptation,that can be modified through learning.[179]

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[171] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), 169-170.
[172] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 167.
[173] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 167.

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[174] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 170.

[175] W. Waters, L. Matas, and L. A. Sroufe, "Infants' Reactions to an Approaching Stranger: Description, Validation and Functional Significance of Wariness," *Child Development* 46 (1975): 348-356.

[176] G.P. Sackett, "Monkeys Reared in Isolation with Pictures as Visual Input: Evidence for an Innate Releasing Mechanism," *Science* 154 (1966): 1468-1473.

[177] J. Cheek and L. Melchior, "Shyness, Self-esteem and Self-consciousness," in H. Leitenberg, ed., *Handbook of Social and Evaluation Anxiety* (New York: Plenum, 1990) and M. Leary and R. Kowolski, *Social Anxiety* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995).

[178] S. Fraiberg, "The Development of Human Attachments in Infants Blind from Birth," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 21 (1975): 315-334.

[179] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 174.

Additional studies by Ainsworth and by Smith and Martinsen[180] confirm that a child selectively seeks its mother's presence, and if left alone with a stranger will seek the stranger's company in the mother's absence. This response is attributed to fright; in the presence of mother the stranger should be avoided, but in the absence of mother the presence of others should be sought. The chances of survival are limited for a child left abandoned. Eibl-Eibesfeldt draws on research that suggests while we are innately friendly, we essentially mistrust strangers.[181] "Fear of others is one of the universals that decidedly influences our social life."[182] We saw this in both *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* and *Jill's* expression of their experiences of leaving home, going to a strange place, and meeting strangers. Fear of others leads to xenophobia, a characteristic that undoubtedly has accelerated human cultural evolution. For most of human history we have lived in acephalous societies, small groups of intimate acquaintances, and as such, trust, harmony and balance prevailed. Only occasionally strangers were encountered as visitors, where they were greeted with courtesy, curiosity, respect, or reserve, or as enemies, where they might have been treated aggressively.[183] Today we live in anonymous societies in which most of the people we encounter daily are strangers. Thus, the fear-releasing signals of others are more effective and behavior tends toward mistrust.[184] For Eibl-Eibesfeldt "it is not people who stress us in large cities, but strangers."[185] A large city enhances loneliness because we are removed from our circle of family and friends, a pre-conditioning we gravitate toward; however, strangers are not rejected but treated ambivalently. We fear strangers, but also seek their company to fill our need for appropriate contact situations to enhance relations. "By nature, man is disposed in a friendly manner toward others"[186] a perception generally held in Native communities and supported by oral tradition. Inhumane socialization has led to the deterioration of our innate tendency to communicate and form bonds.[187]

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[180] M.D.S. Ainsworth, *Infancy in Uganda: Infant Care and the Growth of Love* (Balitmore: John Hopkins University Press, 1967) and L. Smith and H. Martinsen, "The Behaviour of Young Children in a Strange Situation," *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology* 18 (1977):43-52.

[181] M.H. Bornstein and H.G. Bornstein, "The Pace of Life," Nature 259 (1976): 557-558; M.H. Bornstein, "The Pace of Life: Revisited," *International Journal of Psychology* 14 (1979): 83-90; E. Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organisation of Gatherings* (New York: Free Press (Macmillan) (1963); J. Newman and C. McCauley, "Eye Contact with Strangers in City, Suburb and Small Town," *Environmental Behavior* 9 (1977): 547-558.

[182] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), 175.

[183] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), 175.

[184] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 175.

Numerous theories have been proposed to explain the mechanism of the development of attachment. Anna Freud's theory that infantile love develops from food intake, which becomes a beloved object, is often quoted. The child comprehends that the mother is actually responsible for fulfilling these wishes and thus attachment is formed.[188] A supportive study for this assertion was Margaret Mead's study of children in Samoa where the children were brought up collectively without any distinctive mother child bond, and further supported by Dollard and Miller that the child quickly learns that the mother or other reference person fulfills its physical needs, and also learns that hunger, wetness, cold, and other unpleasant sensations occur in the person's absence; therefore the child would actively seek contact with that reference person.[189] If these theories were valid, one would merely have to bond the child to those who provided for the child's physical well-being. Eibl-Eibesfeldt used child rearing practices research in kibbutzes where children were cared for by attendants and parental contact was sometimes limited to an hour of play during the evening. "Nonetheless the children [were] strongly emotionally attached to their parents as reference persons, indicating that it is the quality of contact and not physical attendance that determines bonding."[190] Biological attachment theory and ethological findings perceive the mother-child bond as a predetermined phylogenetic adaptation permitting a further development into a personalized relationship.[191] The child is not seen as a passive recipient of socializing stimuli but an active partner in the process. According to Bowlby, the child displays a distinct "monotropy," the impetus to seek a personalized relationship. "Physical care is not predominant in establishing this reference person, but rather behavioural patterns of loving attraction, such as cuddling, kissing, speaking to, inciting to dialogue, and of course, play.[192] Given this research each child needs a reliable reference for these interactions and if left alone displays "fear of separation;" the absence of the reference person elicits fear – an elemental fear.[193] In situations where the child has bonded with its mother, it will protest even when the mother leaves the child with another reference person. It is not being alone that arouses fear, for the other person could afford security; it is the departure of a beloved person that is painful – separation grief. "If the child cannot establish an attachment to a reference person for any reason, its further development is seriously disturbed."[194] Research with hospitalized children displays this outcome in a particularly blatant way.

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[185] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 177.

[186] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 181.

[187] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 181-182.

[188] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 187.

[189] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 187. Margaret Mead, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York: William Morrow, 1935); Anna Freud "The Psychoanalytic Study of Infantile Disturbance," *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child* 2 (1946): 119-132; *Normality and Pathology in Childhood: Assessment of Development* (New York: International Press 1965 and F. Dollard and N. Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy* (New York: McGraw-Hill 1950). D. Freeman, *Margaret Mead and Samoa The Making and Unmasking of an Anthropological Myth* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983) research has seriously challenged Mead's research and comparative observations make Anna Freud's interpretation obsolete, since bonding to the mother is not dependent upon her as a food source reference point. See E.R. Hilgard and G.H. Bower, *Theories of Learning* (London: Prentice Hall, 1955).

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[190] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 187. See D. W. Rajecki, M.E. Lamb, and S. Suomi, "Effects of Multiple Peer Separation in Domestic Chicks," *Developmental Psychology.* 14 (1978): 397-387.

[191] J. Bowlby, "The Nature of the Child's Tie to His Mother," *International Journal of Psychological-Analysis 39* (1958): 350-373; "Attachment and Loss," in M. Masud and R. Khan, eds., *Separation and Anger* 2 (Psycho-Analytical Library 95 London: Hogarth Press, 1973); M. D. S. Ainsworth "The Development of Infant-Mother Interaction Among the Ganda," in B.M. Foss, ed., *Determinants of Infant Behavior* (London: Methuen, 1963): 67-104; *Infancy in Uganda: Infant Care and the Growth of Love*, (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University, 1967); "Object Relations, Dependency and Attachment: A Theoretical Review of the Infant-Mother Relationship," *Child Development* 40 (1969): 969-1025.

[192] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Human Ethology* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1989), 188.

> If infants who can already distinguish between a reference person and strangers are separated from the reference person by a hospital stay, they undergo a separation shock. First they protest, then become silent, and finally begin to seek the nurse as a new reference person. This is difficult task since the nurses have little time to spend with individual children; however such contact may be successful. But the nurses rotate in shifts or leave for vacations. Thus a newly established contact is often interrupted and the child must experience a new disappointment after losing this reference person. After protesting there may be a new attempt to establish contact, but the child cannot repeat the process too often. There are then two alternatives: the child can either learn to develop new contacts quickly, without a strong emotional involvement. These children no longer cry when the reference person leaves the area, or even if their mother leaves on visiting day. They are equally friendly to everyone but maintain a certain distance. The child no longer invests in intense relationships.[195]

Bowlby portrays this type of adaptation in hospital children:

> After a series of upsets at losing several mother figures to whom in turn he has given some trust and affection, he will gradually commit himself less and less on succeeding figures and in time will stop altogether attaching himself to anyone. …A child living in an institution or hospital who has reached this state will no longer be upset when nurses change or leave.[196]

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[193] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 188.

[194] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 188.

[195] Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 189-190.

[196] J.Bowlby, "Attachment and Loss," in M. Masud and R. Khan, eds., *Attachment* 1. London: Hogarth Press, The International Psycho-Analytical Library No. 79 (1969): 28.

Spitz's research has reached similar conclusion when studying foster homes and children.[197] Reliable reference persons are required for children to develop trust in others and themselves. When they do not occur, children form what I now call **institutional attachment**.

The foregoing research suggests that attachment to a primary reference person is a function of the care-givers' capacity to monitor and regulate their own emotional state and be attuned not so much to the child's overt behaviour as to the child's internal state. When the care-giver resonates with the child, socialization can be imprinted so that the child learns to auto-regulate their emotions. As I construct it now, the child learns to auto-regulate their emotions and, with maturation, these internal images are references that condition behaviour, and if the imprinting was a positive experience, the child is socialized in the norms and values of the particular culture. These norms and values become internalized set of rules of behaviour that when broken may initiate feelings of guilt. If the care-giver fails to monitor and regulate their emotional state and fails to resonate with the child, the caregiver imprints a shaming model that pre-conditions the child to further episodes of shaming that may become internalized. When the child is exposed to continuous shaming episodes and does not have a reliable reference person, as in the case of homes where the caregiver imprints a shaming model, they are socialized in **shame** and their acceptance of cultural norms and values becomes based on fear. When these children who have been shamed rather than socialized (as I distinguish these processes) enter into a secondary socializing process, like religion institutions, schooling institutions, or military institutions, they may be pre-conditioned to internalize shame. I imagine *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* and *Jill's* parental socialization as a loving attachment and mine as **institutionalized shame**.

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[197] R.A. Spitz, *The First Year of Life* (New York: International University Press, 1965).

Ptecincala Ska Wakan Winan

Page 124 has been removed due to copyright restrictions. White Buffalo Calf Woman poem. Source: E. McGaa, Eagle Man, Mother Earth Spirituality: Native American Paths to Healing Ourselves and Our World (San Francisco: Harper, 1989), 4-5.

The South

The South (*Ito kagata*) the place from where the spring, the summer, and the powers to grow come from that nurture us. The colour is white. It is the place that nurtures our understanding that we as people depend on to survive. It is the place that we grow in knowledge of how to keep our nurturing connection with our Mother, the earth. It is the medicine world that can be used to heal if used appropriately, and to destroy if used inappropriately and without the proper training and knowledge. Inipi (sweat lodge) ceremonies are the way we renew our understanding, healing and connectedness to the four worlds. It is the lodge that brings together the four worlds and evokes the powers of the six directions.

The **video rewinds** I am back at the orphanage – a time that I remember as:

Grandfather's Gifts

I see a young child holding an adult's hand (I cannot see the adult) walking down a lane bordered by birch and maple trees. It is early morning. The sun is just starting to break through the trees; it is one of those winter mornings when the night sky is fading. The sky is a wash of colour, reds, blues, yellow, and maroon with the white orange sun peering from behind long streaks of dark clouds. At the end of the path I see a little cinderblock house in a clearing and smoke billowing out of the chimney. At first I do not notice the other houses scattered throughout the forest. It is a long walk; hardly a word is spoken, or at least I can not hear anything being said. We enter the house, where an old man is sitting in a rocking chair, with his arms outstretched to embrace me. I see that I am reluctant to go to him. But he has this gentle face, old and wrinkled with snowy white hair pulled back and braided. He is smiling and talking and gives me a hug that I think is going to break me in two. I do not understand what he is saying, but it feels good. I see myself sitting on the floor in front of him as he looks at and talks to me gently. When he is finished speaking he motions for me to go outside and play with the other kids. It was a great day, running and jumping and hiding in the forest. It is time to go! I feel sad. Grandfather is standing in the doorway of the house. He motions to me to come to him. Those hazel eyes,

> they seem to surround me, yet they are sad. They are glossed over and a tear appears. I feel so sad for him. He squats down to my level and gives me a huge bear hug and at the same time he is talking in my ear. When he stands up he looks directly into my eyes and hands me a bow and arrow, and a tomahawk. As I look at them he continues to talk to me in a very direct way – but I can not understand him! I somehow know what he is saying is important, but I do not understand. The image shifts to another path; the path that returns to the orphanage. I know this path well because on the three occasions in which I ran away I was always brought back along this path. At the end of the path, standing with her arms crossed and an unhappy look on her face, is Sister Michael Joseph.[199] There is not a word spoken. Sister Michael Joseph takes my hand and drags me up the stairs and into the orphanage. She takes my grandfather's gifts and tells me she will place them under my bed so I can have them in the morning. I could not wait to go to bed! I could not wait to wake-up! At the first clang of the bell I jumped out of bed and looked under it for grandfather's gifts – they were gone! I could feel grandfather's tearful eyes surrounding me – **don't you cry!**

Was this just a dream? A child's hope? Or was it Grandfather talking to me!

> Then I saw Sister Michael Joseph. She looked me directly in the eyes. There was smile, no, a smirk on her lips. She turned and hurried down the corridor – **the crow took flight!**

By then I had become immune to these shaming episodes; this was just one in a long series of shaming scripts in the orphanage that imprinted institutionalized shame. When I think about my experience and the structure of the orphanage, and of primary and secondary schooling, like residential schools, it was an institution structured physically and ideologically as an instrument for socialization and re-socialization. It was an institution that held children in contempt for the sins of their parents, ideologically founded on a moral imperative. I was continually, visually, vocally, physically, emotionally, and spiritually confronted and reminded me that I was unfit to live in society unless I repented and changed my ways. I resonate with *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* description of her shaming experience:

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[199] Now when I think about these Nuns in many instances I do not remember their names. In any case, all Nuns for me are Sister Michael Joseph.

> *So school was very ..uh.. regimental ..uh.. it was a shameful experience because you were taught never to be in ..uh.. dat your culture was ..uh.. was worth shit, your language was forbidden, your ..um.. your ..um.. spiritual experience was ..[deep breath].. was evil. Dat the only way to .. in order.. for salvation was to .. and dat salvation was for an after life you don't know exists and you were taught as a little girl that ..um.. dat experience, dat ..um.. experience you have with a creator is an evil thing and the only way to change .. to save yourself, was to reject all dat you were ... at home everything dat you loved you had to reject. [sigh] And dat included .. uh.. furr.. because you couldn't differentiate between the ..um.. philosophy and ..uh ..[pause].. and the person, at lot of times dat meant ..ta.. rejecting the person that taught you dat philosophy that was shameful of course. So ... I and you couldn't change that love you felt for those, those people who taught you your Native background at home and then you were taught at school that you have to reject that, dat is evil because you were going to burn in hell forever and ..[pause].. and at that time there was a big, big ..uh.. ..uh.. ..uh.. mass hysteria about attack from Russia ..[smile and jovial voice].. and they use to scare the kids at school like you could die at any time, like the the planes could come at night ..uh.. and ..uh.. wipe you out, right now! And if you don't straighten up and start thinking like you, you could burn in hell forever, tomorrow, like starting tomorrow if ..uh.. like so there was kindda of choose now! Today! Or ..ah.. be lost forever it could be tomorrow, it could be right .. like the apocalypse could come tomorrow and you have to do your ..uh.. make your choice right now! And you have to do the penance for .. you also have to do penance for the way you use to live .. you live ..ah.. when you are eight years old like telling you things like that was so awful. Um ..And these were Catholic ..um.. nuns that were telling us, Catholic teachers, Catholic priests.*
>
> *I started shutting down after about six months in the .. [spoken very softly].. in the boarding school and I stayed shut down most of my adult life right through my whole life I guess. Shut down my feelings, shut down everything and ..um.. we were told not to speak our language, not ..[long pause] ..um.. [sigh].. that anything ..[deep breath].. that had to do with being Native was a handicap and dat was something dat had to be overcome ..[pause].. the more you ..re..repressed it the more you changed ..uh.. to being non-Native, the more you were ..uh.. ..uh.. a success, you were deemed a success ..[spoken softly] .. there was a lot of .. [long pause]..[spoken very*

> *softly].. physical violence associated with this..um.. from the nuns and to..[long pause]..[cough]..to.. ..uh.. to re-enforce these rules.*

Asiniwaciaw Iskwew and *Jill* had loving family experiences that taught them how they should be treated and how one should treat others, experiences that enabled them to contrast how schooling experiences were different and wrong. I did not have those family experiences but I had Grandfather's real gift that created an inner discipline of resolve, resistance and resilience to harsh treatment. Crow duped herself if she thought taking grandfather's inanimate gift was important in my socialization to becoming fit for society. The real gifts were animate, those eyes, the resonance of the voice, the hug, and those gentle words that made me feel loved. As I look back to this experience with Hawk eyes, I now see and understand Grandfather's real gift was the imprinting of a moment of love and appropriate behaviour between two people. He taught me in those brief moments the way one should been treated. Sister Michael Joseph's behaviour forever brought into sharp focus how one should not act. From that moment on, I knew that we were being treated wrongly in the orphanage. Those of us in the orphanage who had this understanding developed an inner discipline of resolve, resistance, and resilience codified within the bonding phrase – **Don't you cry!** This was our code of silent resistance built from a bond of shared experiences. Whenever we were punished or going to be punished, we came together. It might be a look, a touch, a remark that was meant in support, because we understood that what was happening or going to happen was wrong. We seemed to have our own ethical understanding of what appropriate behaviour was and knew we would have to endure the harsh treatment. At night we would sneak to each other beds in the dormitory and console and encourage each other not to give in – **Don't you cry!** If you did cry during episodes of corporal punishment, we all took pride in the fact that to make you cry they had to increase the severity of the punishment. Eventually, they gave up on corporal punishment – our ultimate victory.

I was eventually adopted and finally left the orphanage. I spend about nine years with my adopted family, was a high school drop out, and joined the Canadian Armed Forces, becoming a decorated peacekeeper. I construct those years as a continuation of institutional attachment. I learned to develop new contacts quickly, without a strong emotional involvement, maintained a certain distance, and would not invest in an intensive relationship. My adopted home was for me just another institution. I had already stopped attaching myself to anyone and I had reached a state where loss of personal attachment no longer upset me. I was attached to institutions! As long as I was fed, clothed and provided with medical care, it did not matter how else I was treated. I was immune to drunken sorties, the physical and emotional abuse – I simply shut them off and protected myself in my art. My art was my sanctuary! When Sister Michael Joseph ridiculed my drawing, I was not shamed – I was angry! She encroached in my safe place – my space on the landscape of school, my space for modulating my inner motions and creating harmony and balance. Most of the other students were strangers who were cowed by the Nun's behaviour. I was angry. I see now it was my Grandfather's space! My Grandfather's gift! That she violated! That made me angry!

Public education, as I experienced it, was as Friedenberg observed, "after the family the school is the first social institution an individual must deal with, the place in which he learns to handle himself with strangers."[200] It is the site of impersonal authority, in which a stranger gives orders and wields power and children learn to live with authority.[201] It is not part of the curriculum, but is the hidden curriculum of impersonal achievement and authority-oriented roles of adult occupational and socio-political life. As I look back with Hawk eyes to those primary and secondary school days, they were another jail of socialization into large-scale society, "a middle-class society of mediocrity, banality, and conformity … an educational process that subverts the highest function of education, which is to help people understand the meaning of their lives and those of others."[202]

It was the site of convergence of shaming and the moral imperative. From the initial formulation of public education in Canada, the role, rules and practice of teaching break the interpersonal bridge,[203] a critical event that activates shame, the interpersonal activator.[204]

Jill's story provides another example of a lived experience with public education:

> *My experience with formal education has been ongoing from the age of six years old, I was out of the school system for three years, came back into college and university, and now I teach. My first experience with formal education was a pretty*

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[200] E.Z. Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence* (New York: Random House, 1963), 43.

[201] P. Jackson, *Life in Classrooms* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968) and R. Dreeben, "The Contribution of Schooling to the Learning of Norms," *Harvard Educational Review Spring*, (1967): 211-237.

[202] E.Z. Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence* (New York: Random House, 1963), 29.

[203] "An interpersonal bridge forms out of reciprocal interest and shared experiences of trust. Trusting must be matched by the parent behaving in a trustworthy fashion. Consistency (not perfection) and predictability (not rigidity) are crucial to building an interpersonal bridge, whether with a child, friend, or client" and significant other – the teacher," Friedenberg, 33.

[204] Friedenberg, 34. Also see W.R.D. Fairbairn, *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 39-40; B. Kell and J. Burow, *Development Counseling and Therapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970).

sharp rupture in my life, moving from my home and going to school it was overwhelming. The things that I remember happening was the silence, not being able to speak and there were times to talk and that was pretty rare.

You know I guess just trying to figure out how to be there and how to be successful. I was kind of, I've always been more of a watcher, I think, in the beginning and I don't really just jump right in. I usually stand back a bit and watch and figure things out before I start to participate. I guess, I would see things happening to other kids and I would learn based on what happened to them. For example, a little boy that wet his pants one day in grade one, because he wasn't allowed to go to the bathroom. I learned in that moment, you better go to the bathroom at recess time or next week that could be me standing there because I'm not going to get out of this room either.

I hated school as a young child and all the way through. I think it started for me getting on a school bus, because I lived in a rural community, the actual leaving of a safe space of home. The moment I stepped onto that school bus, the moment I walked from my house and stood out along the road, I was moving into a public space and I guess the school bus was sort of a lull between happiness and terror. I liked my teacher in grade one, I don't remember feeling that I disliked her, I was afraid. When I was in grade two, I had this older women for a teacher and one day she basically told me that I was a little whore because my skirt got ripped off of my dress. I played with boys and lots of more rougher kinds of things than I suppose some of the other girls did. I was up in the tree and they yanked on my skirt because we were playing tag, it was a natural thing to do, and if I'd been at home, my mom wouldn't have done that, my mom would have said, maybe you better put on pants, if you're going to play in the trees. I had no respect for [the teacher] from that moment on.

A recent study of Canadian schoolchildren in Quebec is instructive. It concluded that ninety-six percent of the children had been the targets of their parents' shaming; including "rejecting, demeaning, terrorising, criticising (destructively), or insulting statements."[205] Not only have parents been the source of shaming students, there has been intentional shaming as in the Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology.[206] From these studies one could imagine that in any classroom a large percentage of the students have been pre-conditioned to experience and potentially internalize shame.

With reference to shaming I wondered how it could not be seen as harmful. From the literature there appears to be two general attitudes about shame and shaming. On the one hand, it is seen by Greenwald and Harder and others as a mechanism that can "facilitate, rather than impede, socially and personally adaptive behaviour."[207] As such, shame plays an essential role in promoting fitness through the regulation of behaviour in identity formation, social bonding, and competitive mating success.[208]

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[205] E.Z. Friedenberg, *Coming of Age in America: Growth and Acquiescence* (New York: Random House, 1963), 34. Also see Ruth Solomon and Francoise Serres, "Effects of Parental Verbal Aggression on Children's Self-esteem and School Marks," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 23. 4 (1999): 339-351. The Harter Self-perception Profile for children questionnaire was used to research 144 ten year-old children in Quebec concerning their mothers' and fathers' verbal aggression towards them and their use of physical punishment. The researchers found that only 4% of the children had not been the targets of their parents' shaming. The researchers used school records to obtain the subjects' marks in French and Mathematics. The conclusion was the parental verbal aggression alone contributed to lowering children's self-esteem and school achievements.

[206] See T. Spillane, An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of their Training. (Ann Arbor, MI: Doctoral Dissertation, UMI Dissertation Services, (1995).

[207] D. R. Greenwald and D.W. Harder, "Domains of Shame: Evolutionary, Cultural, and Psychotherapeutic Aspects," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 225.

[208] D. R. Greenwald and D.W. Harder, "Domains of Shame: Evolutionary, Cultural, and Psychotherapeutic Aspects," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 225; S. Tomkins, *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: 2. The Negative Affects* (New York: Springer, 1963); "The Quest for Primary Motives: Biography and Autobiography," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 41 (1981): 306-329, was one of the first to suggest that shame was an innate affect that make things matter and the importance of shame as triggered by situations that result in the interruption of pleasure and protects the organism (see above). D. Tantam, "The Emotional Disorders of Shame," in *Shame*, eds., P. Gilbert and B. Andrews (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); D. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex and*

They argue,

> Human beings must manage a complex array of emotions and behaviours in order to maintain themselves in their social network so as to maximize fitness. Affects such as shame and guilt play a useful, even essential, role in guiding individuals' behaviour to match well with the values of their particular group. It is essentially theorized that dysphoria [a state of unease or discomfort, emotions] such as guilt and shame should, in

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the Birth of the Self (New York: Norton 1992), who developed Tomkins' notions of shame, also argued that "shame-humiliation" "is an affect program designed to be triggered in those situations when there is an impediment to the continuation of positive affect" and "an auxiliary to the positive affects, rather than a true affect" (138). He based his argument on the evolution of higher centres of cognition. In earlier evolution all that shame affect did was turn off positive affects according to Nathanson, but the more complex the brain became, the more functions could be influenced by shame (141). M. Reimer, "Sinking into the Ground: The Development Consequences of Shame in Adolescence, *Development Review* 16 (1996): 321-363, criticized Nathanson's argument of an innate affect system, triggered by and for the interruption of positive affect and posited interruption of positive functions especially in social situations. These arguments were previously counter-argued by G. Mandler, *Mind and Emotion* (New York: Wiley, 1975), that emotions in fact interrupt goals and plans (and positive affect) but can have many emotional consequences. Shame-based interruptions of positive affect more likely created reactions like anger, fear, and sadness, respectively. Shame is more likely to result from a loss of positive affect associated with devaluation of the self, P. Gilbert, "What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5. P. Gilbert, *Human Nature and Suffering* (Hove, UK: Erlbaum, 1989) develops this argument as fearful, submissive shame-like behaviours that could only evolve in social situations where submissive responses would (usually) turn off or lessen the "attack-mode" of the attacker, that is, where they will have some protective function (see also P. Gilbert and T. McGuire, "Shame, Status, and Social Roles: Psychobiology and Evolution," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and* Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 99-125; D. Keltner and L. Harker, "The Forms and Functions of the Nonverbal Signal of Shame," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998): 78-99. According to P. Gilbert, "What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), "the interruption of positive affect requires identification of the source of the interruption" (the meaning of the situation) "to know what defensive behaviour is required" (6). The previous ideas "that one can define an emotion in the absence of the meaning given to a situation has been well refuted" by K. Oatley, *Best Laid Schemes: The psychology of emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Although there doesn't appear to be a consensus as to whether shame is an innate or socially derived emotion there appears to be little opposition to the idea that shame has a negative affect.

> most situations, lead the individual to more adaptive functioning.[209]

This is a classical argument dating back to Aristotle's taxonomy of moral emotions in the Nicomachean Ethics, to the Bible, and to other philosophers such as Gabriele Taylor.[210] On the other hand, in some contemporary literature, shame and shaming are seen to be essentially destructive of the spirit and of the natural self, and can impede social and personal adaptive behaviour. This is expressed by Jean-Paul Sartre and Vicki Underland-Rosow who note that shaming experience contributes to dysfunctional behaviour such as depression, isolation, disassociation, and rage.[211] While both arguments are presented in the psychological literature there is little compelling empirical evidence to substantially support either position particularly with regard to the role of shame.[212] Kaufman attributes this to "a significant degree of shame about shame,

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[209] D. R. Greenwald and D.W. Harder, "Domains of Shame: Evolutionary, Cultural, and Psychotherapeutic Aspects," in P. and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behavior, Psychopathology, and Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 225.

[210] Gabriele Taylor, *Pride, Shame, and Guilt: Emotions of Self-assessment* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

[211] Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1956) and Vicki Underland-Rosow, *Shame: Spiritual Suicide* (Shorewood, MN: Waterford Publications, 1995). For P. Gilbert, "What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), anxiety appears central to the shame experience, and he finds it difficult to consider shame without it (6). Episodes of shame have an almost panic-like quality about them, where the capacity for rational thinking is suspended, H. Lewis, "The Role of Shame in Depression," in M. Rutter, C.E. Izard and P.B. Read, eds., *Depression in Young People: Developmental and Clinical Perspective* (New York: Guilford Press, 1986): 325-339. One is not only aware of the scrutiny of the other but also becomes intensely and rapidly aroused. With this affect shift one can experience intense anxiety, feel one's mind go blank, or have feelings of being rooted to the spot, wishing the ground would open up and one could sink out of sight or flee. Shame is also often defined as an acute arousal or fear of being exposed, scrutinised, or negatively judged by others, Fischer and Tangney, "Self-Conscious Emotions and the Affect Revolution: Framework and Overview," in J.P. Tangney and K.W. Fischer, eds., *Self-Conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press 1995): 3-22; P. Gilbert and P. Trower, "The Evolution and Manifestation of Social Anxiety," in W.R. Crozier, ed., *Shyness and Embarrassment: Perspectives from Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 144-177. However, descriptions of a "shame-attack" or a shame episode, H. Lewis, "The role of shame in depression," in M. Rutter, C.E. Izard and P.B. Read, eds., *Depression in Young People: Developmental and Clinical Perspective* (New York: Guilford Press, 1986), 325-339 and M. Reimer, "Sinking into the ground: The Development and Consequences of Shame in Adolescence, *Development Review* 16 (1996): 321-363, are almost identical to shy response in social situations, P. Gilbert, "What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 6. J. Cheek and L. Melchior, "Shyness, Self-esteem and Self-consciousness," in H. Leitenberg, ed., *Handbook of Social and Evaluation Anxiety* (New York: Plenum, 1990), describe shyness reactions as "global feelings of tension, specific physiological symptoms, painful self-consciousness, worry about being evaluated negatively by others, awkwardness, inhibition and reticence" (48). M. Leary and R. Kowalski, *Social Anxiety* (New York: Guilford Press. 1995), describe shyness and shame episodes similarly to social anxiety attacks. They note

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that the defining characteristic of "social anxiety" is that unlike other anxieties, social anxiety arises from the prospect or presence of interpersonal evaluation in a real or imagined social settings. For them social anxiety could just as easily be called "evaluation anxiety" according to (cited in For P. Gilbert, "What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 6. A. Beck, G. Emery, and R. Greenberg, *Anxiety Disorders and Phobias: A Cognitive Approach* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), regard social anxiety as evaluation anxiety and also link it directly to shame: "The experience of shame is important in discussions of social anxiety because the socially anxious person is fearful of being shamed in many situations" (156). Again, however, almost identical descriptions have been written for social phobia, R. Rapee and R. Heimber, "A Cognitive Behavioural Model of Anxiety in Social Phobia," *Behavior Therapy and Research* 35 (1997): 741-756, and D. Clark and A. Wells, "A Cognitive Model of Social Phobia," in R. G. Heimberg, M.R. Leitenberg, D.A. Hope, and R. R. Schneier, eds., *Social Phobia: Diagnosis, Assessment and Treatment* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995): 69-93, argue that fear of negative evaluation, exposure and social avoidance (hiding) are hallmarks of social anxiety. In recent models, R. Rapee and R. Heimberg, "A cognitive Behavioral Model of Anxiety in Social Phobia," *Behavior Therapy and Research* 35 (1997): 741-756, include evaluation of the self by the self, and self as may appear in the eyes of others, concerns with falling short of standards, attentional and information processing biases, raised sensitivity to internal arousal cues, and distinct behavioural dispositions for avoidance and escape as central social phobia, (P. Gilbert, "What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 6. P. Gilbert, J. Pehl, and S. Allan, "An Exploration of Shame Measures: The Other as Shamer Scale," *Personality and Individual Differences* 17 (1994): 713-717, found that many of the components of shame such as self-consciousness and inferiority were as highly correlated with a measure of social anxiety (Fear of Negative Evaluation: FNE) as they were with shame. What is striking is that the current literature on social anxiety and on shame share little common ground, P. Gilbert and P. Trower, "The Evolution and Manifestation of Social Anxiety," in W. R. Crozier, ed., *Shyness and Embarrassment: Perspectives from Social* Psychology (Camabridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 144-177. In both bodies of literature there are common questions about the actual nature of fear in avoidance behaviour – social anxiety may be related to the fear of feeling ashamed, the fear of being shamed, or both. A distinction between being shamed and feeling ashamed is instructive. "One may fear being shamed because of possible damage to one's career yet not fear the affects (such as anxiety) of shame. In social anxiety, people may fear the symptoms of anxiety because they believe such symptoms will seriously interfere with their efforts at positive self-presentations" ("What is Shame? Some Core Issues and Controversies," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7. While the role of anxiety is controversial and is certainly not definitive, the roles of anger, humiliation, disgust, and dignity fair no better.

[212] Some psychologists have discussed the adaptive functions of negative and positive affects for individual physical survival, social decision making, and psychological well-being they have yet to begin a detailed examination of the role of shame. See L. Clark and D. Watson, "Distinguishing Functional from Dysfunctional Affective Responses," in P. Ekman and R.J. Davidson, eds., *The Nature of Emotion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 131-136; A.R. Damasio, *Descartes' Error*. (New York: Putman, 1994); P. Ekman and R. J. Davidson, "Afterword: What Is the Function of Emotions" in P. Ekman and R.J. Davidson (Eds.), *The Nature of Emotion*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 137-139; N.H. Frijda, "Emotions are Functional, Most of the Time," in P. Ekman and R.J. Davidson, eds., *The Nature of Emotion*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 112-122; and C. E. Izard, "Organizational and Motivational Functions of Discrete Emotions," in M. Lewis and J.M. Haviland, eds.,

causing it to remain hidden"[213] something that I experienced in my research when my collaborators told me that they feared that I would see them differently when they related their experiences. Another reason for the lack of empirical research is the inadequacy of language which accurately perceives, describes, and brings into meaningful relationship this human emotion. "Knowledge of inner states, however, is ultimately the prisoner of the particular language used to describe those states because language shapes perception. The psychoanalytic language attempts to account for shame with a distinct panoply of constructs already deemed valid."[214] The competing

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Handbook of Emotions (New York: Guilford Press, 1993) and *Human Emotions* (New York: Plenum, 1977).

[213] G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989), 4, and *Shame: The Power of Caring* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1980).

[214] Kaufman, 11. S. Miller, *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985) argues that "as comprehensive shame theories, the reaction-formation theories focus too narrowly on a single dynamic" (11). Although these theorists identify common-sense situations in which shame experience interrupts morally forbidden exhibitionism, Miller argues they mistakenly see that function as the defining core of the shame experience (11). They study a particular function of shame and neglect to study the shame experience itself. "They present shame as an experience of personal inferiority that does not in fact represent a real negative conviction about the self. Instead, shame signifies an attempt to deflect attention away from impulses to exhibit an erotically viewed self or body" (11). Although those of the reaction-formation view sometimes use shame in context that appears to reflect the perspective that shame is a straightforward expression of negative self-evaluation, the formal theory considers shame simply as a defence only and gives it no real expressive function (11-12).

A second group of writers, H. Kohut, "Thoughts on Narcissism and Narcissistic Rage," in *Psychoanalytic Study of the* Child 27 (1972): 360-400; H. Lewis, *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* (New York: International University Press, 1971); P. Knapp, "Purging and Curbing: An Inquiry into Disgust, Satiety, and Shame," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases* 144 (1967): 514–534, shares with the Freudian group an orientation toward shame as a functional event. They acknowledge "an arousal-blocking function of shame, but do not view arousal as necessarily morally dangerous; rather, arousal may be threatening to the ego," S. Miller, *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985), 9. These writers see shame as an intervening function to various forms of exhibitionistic excitement, but do not posit morality as the exclusive motive behind the braking operation (12). They point to the ego-disruptive impact of over-stimulation and the need for a mechanism to reverse high stimulation that may be dangerous to the organism. Therefore they propose that shame, like disgust, evolved in order to curb appetites that may be dangerous to the self (12). "As disgust curbs hunger, shame counters sexual instincts and functions as a protection against the loss of self-boundaries which is implicit in absorbed sexual fantasy" (12). From this perspective shame is seen as positive effect providing relief from dangerous situations. The majority of writers in the literature characterise shame itself as a painfully stimulated state; if their interpretation is correct, then it is somewhat difficult to accept the idea that shame comes as a relief. Shame has been extensively investigated as a psychosexual phase of development or as feelings about the body rather than non-sexual or a non-physical aspect of the self. Not all writers, K. Horney, "The Dread of Woman: Observations on a Specific Difference in the Dread Felt by Men and by Woman Respectively for the

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Opposite Sex," *International Journal of* Psychoanalysis 13 (1932): 248-360; F. Alexander, "Remarks About the Relationship of Inferiority Feelings to Guilt Feelings," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 19 (1938): 41-49; R. Grinker, "Growth Inertia and Shame: Therapeutic Implications and Dangers," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 36 (1955): 242-253; G. Engel "Toward a Classification of Affects," in P. Knapp, ed., *Expression of the Emotions in Man* (New York: International University Press, 1963); M Mayman, *The Shame Experience, the Shame Dynamic, and Shame Personalities in Psychotherapy.* Paper presented at the George Klien Memorial Address, American Psychological Association Annual Meeting, (New York: 1974); H. Kohut, "The Analysis of the Self," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* (1971) associate shame feeling with exclusively a self-conflict but an expressive state. They "define shame as an acute experience of inferiority feeling that may refer to any aspect of self or to the self experienced as a unity and loss of control. Shame is an experience – often referring to the self as a whole – whose meaning is revealed by the experienced nature of the feeling" (16-17). For K. Horney, *The Collected Works of Karen Horney Volume II: Self-Analysis, Neurosis, and Human Growth* (New York: Norton) shame develops during the phallic phase of development, R. Karen, "Shame," *Atlantic Monthly* 269. 2 (1992): 40-70, S. Miller, *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985), 16. Shame is the result from the failure to move forward developmentally. The role of guilt inhibits self-development and the role of shame promotes development, S. Miller, *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985), 18. A. Grinker, "Growth Inertia and Shame: Therapeutic Implications and Dangers," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 36 (1955): 242-253, sees shame as a response to the failure to master a developmental task at the normally expected time. He does not reduce shame over relatively late developmental failure to a mere reverberation of some early failure as does Engel and Mayman, who suggests that shame experience may refer to anal experiences of loss of control or loss of good feeling about body products or to phallic concern with genital size or function, S. Miller, *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985), 15. Adult shame is seen as the transformation of childhood body narcissism. All adult experience has a history; therefore, shame in an adult is a reminder of childhood shame experience. Many, but not all, center on a focus on the body (15). On the other hand, Kohut 1972 discusses shame in the context of narcissistic personality. "He thinks of shame as a collapse of self-esteem that is developmentally linked to parental failures to respond attentively and appreciatively to the child as a whole human being rather than as a collection of body parts and functions, " (17). Here Kohut contrasts a theory of shame as a reaction-formation function meant to obscure forbidden exhibitionism to a shame response as undisguised exhibitionism that is judged externally to be infantile. Shame appears to be shame over the wish to exhibit one's whole self, not shame over a particular body part or process, (17). In M. Mayman's, *The Shame Experience, the Shame Dynamic, and Shame Personalities in Psychotherapy* (Paper presented at the George Klien Memorial Address, American Psychological Association Annual Meeting, New York City) view, the shame-prone adult learned as others regard a child displays with pride and excitement as laughable, cute, or underdeveloped. "He understands the exhibitionistic impulse as the background against which the inferiority feeling develops, not necessarily as the motive for the inferiority feeling," S. Miller, *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985), 15-16. S. Miller considers both the reaction-formation and expressive state theories as important to an understanding of the development of inferiority feelings. "Shame is felt when an injurious situation breeds inferiority feelings. But shame also may grow strong because normal defenses against inferiority feelings cannot be used, or because guilty or self-abusive trends actually encourage such feelings" (16). The reaction-formations are instances of shame that appear because guilt (or other sources of anxiety) encourage the person to view their body or behaviour as shameful which has direct expressive significance. "The experience of the self as inferior is present and real, as in all shame experience. But the shame is nourished in part by guilt or other anxieties that restrict the individual to perceiving only the negative narcissistic potential in a situation, not the positive (prideful) potential." (16). Not only are there different schools and theoretical approaches to shame, but the phenomenon can be conceptualized and studied in terms of its components and mechanisms, J. Tangney, "Assessing Individual Differences in Proneness to Shame and Guilt: Development of the Self-conscious Affect and Attribution Inventory," *Journal of Personality and Social* Psychology 59 (1990): 102-111; "Shame and Guilt in Interpersonal Relationships," in J. P. Tangney and K. W. Fischer, eds., *Self-conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995): 237-252, "Conceptual and Methodological Issues in the Assessment of psychological languages or theories have oriented the research toward examining guilt. "The consequent reification of guilt as a construct has unfortunately obscured the role of shame, hindering accurate perception of its impact and dynamic complexity."[215]

Shame and Guilt," *Behaviour Therapy and Research* 34 (1996): 741-754. As we have seen it can be examined in terms of emotion, as a primary affect in its own right, as an secondary emotion, or as a composite of a variety of emotions such as fear, anger, and self-disgust, for example, G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame- based Syndromes* (New York: Springer, 1989); D. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: Norton, 1992); A. Morrison, "The Eye Turned Inward: Shame and the Self," in D. L. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of S*hame (New York: Guilford Press, 1987): 271-291; L. Wurmser, "Shame: The Veiled Companion of Narcissism," in D. L. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of S*hame (New York: Guilford Press, 1987): 64-92; M. Jacoby, *Shame and the Origins of Self-esteem: A Jungian A*pproach (London: Routledge, 1994); M. Lansky, *Fathers Who Fail: Shame and Psychopathology in the Family System* (New York: Analytic Press, 1992); S. Miller, *Shame in Context* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1996); "Humiliation and Shame: Comparing Two Affect States as Indicators of Narcissistic Stress," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* 52 (1988): 40-51 *The Shame Experience* (Hillsdale, NJ: The Analytic Press, 1985); P. Mollon, *The Fragile Self: The Structure of Narcissistic Disturbance* (London: Whurr, 1993); as cognitions and beliefs about the self that one is and/or seen by others to be inferior, flawed, or inadequate, M. Lewis, *Shame: The Exposed Self* (New York: The Free Press, 1992); "The Emergence of Human Emotions, " in M. Lewis and J.M. Haviland, eds., *Handbook of Emotions* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993): 223-235; "Self-Conscious Emotions," *American Scientist* 83 (1995): 68-78; D. Stipek, "The Development of Pride and Shame in Toddlers," in J.P. Tangney and K.W. Fischer, eds., *Self-conscious Emotions: The Psychology of Shame, Guilt, Embarrassment and Pride*, (New York: Guilford Press, 1995):237-252; H. Lewis, *Shame and Guilt in Neurosis* (New York: International University Press, 1971); *The Role of Shame in Symptom Formation* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1987); "Shame – The "Sleeper" in Psychopathology," in H.B. Lewis, ed., *The Role of Shame in Symptom Formation* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1987): 1-28; "Shame and the Narcissistic Personality," in D.L. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford Press, 1987): 93-132; "The Role of Shame in Depression Over the Life Span," in H.B. Lewis, ed., *The Role of Shame in Symptom Formation* (Hillsdale, HJ: Erlbaum, 1987): 29-50, as behaviours and actions, such as running away, hiding, concealing or attacking others to cover one's shame; as an evolved mechanism that holds similar biobehavioural systems of submissive behaviour expressed by animals; and interpersonal dynamic interrelationships of shamed and shamer, D. Cohen, J. Vandello, and A. Rantilla, "The Sacred and the Social: Culture of Honor and Violence," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and C*ulture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 261-282; N. Lindisfarne, "Gender, Shame, and Culture: An Anthropological Perspective," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and* Culture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 246-260; T. Scheff, "Shame in the Labelling of Mental Illness," in P. Gilbert and B. Andrews, eds., *Shame: Interpersonal Behaviour, Psychopathology, and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) 191-205; E. Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of a Spoiled Identity* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1968); M. Fossum and M. Mason, *Facing Shame: Families in Recovery* (New York: Norton, 1986); J Harper and M. Hoopes, *Uncovering Shame: An Approach Integrating Individuals and Their Family Systems* (New York: Norton, 1990).

[215] G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989), 11. Freudian concepts of developmental theory were challenged by H. Sullivan, *Concepts of Modern Psychiatry* (New York: Norton, 1953); *The Interpersonal Theory of P*sychiatry (New York: Norton, 1953); *Clinical Studies in Psychiatry* (New York: Norton, 1956) and B. Kell and J. Burow, *Developmental Counselling and Therapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970). In terms of interpersonal theory by W. Fairbairn, *Psychoanalytic Studies of the P*ersonality (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966); H. Guntrip, *Personality Structure and Human Interaction* (New York: International Universities Press, 1961); *Schizoid Phenomena, Object-relations and the Self* (New York:

Another reason is that accepted theories and traditional methods of treatment have largely failed in the treatment of shame.[216] And finally, in social terms Kaufman sees the radical transformation of civilization both in society and family as a contributing factor in the incidents of shaming. The problems in contemporary life are seen as the result of inadequate parenting.

> A century ago, the extended family provided each developing individual with a vital supporting network of additional parenting figures. Not only has that been lost, but the nuclear family itself has given way to single-parent families, dual-career families, latchkey children, post-divorce families, blended families, step-families, and so on.[217]

Culture is in the midst of profound transition, and "the breakdown of traditional forms of family and interpersonal relations has further intensified the experience of shame, bringing it into new and wider focus."[218] Kaufman argues that "parents feel burdened and taxed by the demands of living in a complex, technological society and feeling equally ill-prepared for the demands of parenting in such a society …[and] simply

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Basic Books, 1969) and *Psychoanalytic Theory, Therapy and the Self* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), object-relations theory, by S. Tomkins,' *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: Vol. 1, The Positive Affects* (New York: Springer, 1962); *Affect, Imagery, Consciousness: Vol. 2, The Negative Affects* (New York: Springer, 1963); "Script Theory: Differential Magnification of Affects," H.E. Howe and R.A. Dienstbier, eds., *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation* Vol. 26 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 201-236; "Affect Theory," in P. Ekman, ed., *Emotions in the Human Face* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); "Affect Theory," in K.R. Scherer and P. Ekman, eds., *Approaches to Emotion* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1984); "Shame," in D.L. Nathanson, ed., *The Many Faces of Shame* (New York: Guilford Press, 1987), 133-161 and "Script Theory," in J. Arnoff, A.I. Rabin, and R.A. Zucker, eds., *The Emergence of Personality* (New York: Springer, 1987), 147-216; G. Enge and A. Schmale, "Conservation-withdrawal: A Primary Regulatory Homestasis," in *Physiology, Emotion, and Psychosomatic Illness* (Amsterdam: Elsevier: CIBA Foundation Symposium 8. 1972), 57-85, affect theory which provides the central focus for the current core issues and controversies of shame research.

[216] G. Kaufman, *Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989), 11.

[217] Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989 4-5.

[218] Kaufman, 4-5.

abdicate."[219] Kaufman suggests that "[s]chools which might provide a substitute, feel equally burdened, prompting many of our young people to become discouraged in yet another arena. The continuing evolution of our technological society is creating ever-new pressures that individuals are increasingly responding to with shame."[220] It would appear that for these authors shame is an ascribed condition or affect perpetuated by social, economic, and cultural transition as parents attempt to adapt to their changing environment.

Kaufman's[221] work mirrors both Schore's and Eibl-Eibesfeldt's research in the concept of the interpersonal bridge. An interpersonal bridge forms out of reciprocal interest and shared experiences of trust created by parents and significant others, such as teachers. The interpersonal bridge is ruptured when any significant other fails to fully hear, openly validate, and understand another's needs by directly communicating validation.[222] When a child is treated as a generic student and not a particular child, a real, flesh and blood, actual person, and which is not overtly expressed in word and in action, the relationship cannot be genuine and honest.[223] Just as "a child can tolerate disappointment from a parent without lasting shame when the parent has taken time to listen and understand, even if the request must be denied or put off" so can a student respond to a concerned teacher. "Some sadness or grumbling will follow, but any shame will be temporary and eventually released, neither internalized nor magnified" if the teacher reinitiates positive contact.

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[219] Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989, 4-5. Vicki Underland-Rosow, *Shame: Spiritual Suicide* (Shorewood, MN: Waterford 1995) feels somewhat the same, adding that disenchantment or disconnection, a separation into observer and object, separation from the natural world and the need for an outside force to guarantee conformity and compliance are the roots of our addictive society, 35-42.

[220] G. Kaufman, 4-5.

[221] Drawing substantially on Thomkin's affect theory, Kaufman's theory of interpersonal development defines these relationship requirements and uses affect theory (feelings) as its foundation (59). It asks the question, "What are the primary interpersonal needs?" and distinguishes the following interpersonal needs that are innate and universal: the need for relationship, the need for touching and holding, the need for identification, the need for differentiation, the need to nurture, the need for affirmation, and the need for power (59). "To need is to imagine a scene involving another person who is central in one's world. To expect something is to imagine a scene amplified by excitement affect and by enjoyment affect. Needs may be openly acknowledged, understood by the other, and thereby fused with positive affect. Or they may act as pathways to relationship deprivation and to shame" (59). For Kaufman the affect of shame is important. No other affect is more disturbing to the self and none more central to the sense of identity. As a negative affect in the context of normal development, shame is seen as the source of low self-esteem, diminished self-image, poor self-concept and deficient body image. He sees shame itself as producing self-doubt and being disruptive to both security and confidence and as an impediment to the experience of belonging and to shared intimacy. It is the experiential foundation from which conscience and identity inevitably evolves. In terms of pathological development, shame is central to the emergence of alienation, loneliness, inferiority, and perfectionism. It plays a pivotal role in many psychological disorders as well, including depression, paranoia, and borderline conditions. He sees many eating disorders and sexual disorders (both physical abuse and sexual abuses) which significantly involve shame. In a more positive vein, shame alerts one to any affront to human dignity. Kaufman's development theory of shame, identity, and the self is founded on a critical interplay of affect, imagery, and language. The scene is the events as they are lived, and experienced and affect (feeling) fuses with and amplifies the scene. Scenes focus on interpersonal needs and relationships, as expression of affect, as expression of the sexual and hunger drives, and around competence that are imprinted with feeling and stored in memory. The scenes become the building blocks of personality (60). "Language gives particular meaning to these original scenes or

> When one has behaved insensitively or reacted badly, and has thereby activated shame … all that is required in reapproaching the other is to openly, honestly acknowledge one's own part. This will release the other's shame. When shame activation is followed directly by actively restoring the interpersonal bridge, internalization and further magnification of shame do not occur.[224]

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governing scenes, and then continually remakes their images, synthesizing ever-new repetitions" (60). Affect, imagery, and language are seen as the central processes shaping the self and identity. "Affect amplifies and imprints scenes, and the presence of the identical affect in two different scenes increases the likelihood of the scenes becoming interconnected," and directly fused together (60). "Our thinking language continually remakes images of those crucial, ever-to-be relived, governing scenes" (60). Language develops into distinct action language patterns, or scripts (shame scripts), for predicting and controlling a magnified set of scenes. A script is not identical with language; it may or may not include language; it may be a look, a gesture, or reaction. "Governing scenes of shame undergo magnification by imagery and further transformation by language. These processes are central to the development of personality as well as of various pathological distortions of the self" (p. 60).

[222] G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989), 34.

[223] W.R.D. Fairbairn, *Psychoanalytic Studies of the Personality.* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 39-40, and B. Kell and J. Burow, *Developmental Counseling and Therapy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970) describe the requirements for a genuine and honest relationship between child and parent that may equally apply to teacher and student.

[224] Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer Publishing, 1989), 34.

Therefore, what distinguishes a shaming episode from a non-shaming episode is the shamer's response to a shaming episode.

Sister Michael Joseph's response to me as a child artist when she failed to make contact for the duration of the class is an example of a shaming script. Failing to acknowledge my effort and yet placing the art at the front of the class during the exhibition suggest that she may have recognized that her actions were inappropriate and in an indirect way was attempting to reconnect with me. However, her failure to make direct contact, and to leave it hanging for the rest of the class to see after the exhibition, suggests she recognized the power of shaming. Which leaves me to wonder whose shame it was.

Spillane's phenomenological study[225] of medical students' shaming experiences is informative and significant. What is particularly significant is that the site is not only a teaching environment, it is a school for training professional care-givers. All students in the study described their shaming experiences in their training as painful and hurtful. Their descriptions and assessments of these experiences were complex variations of self-evaluations about their own worth and promoted questions, not about learning the curriculum, but about whether they wanted to continue in a profession where they would have to endure a teaching practice based on shaming. When the environment was supportive and respectful, when the ability to value skills and knowledge was not "powerfully" undermined there was an emerging sense of competence.[226] Of particular note for me was one participant's shaming experience around an oral presentation that was "totally traumatizing" and which is evoked each time the individual makes an oral presentation.[227] This student developed a coping strategy to continue his studies by becoming immersed in literature and film. What this student was able to do was to build a "wall" "to protect himself against further injury," and "to simultaneously hold his own painful experience in view when he assumes a more powerful role with other students." He states,

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[225] T.F. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of their Training* (Ann Arbor, MI Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, 1995), 73-171. I've attempted to summarize the general themes of the study. Also see J. Middleton-Moz, *Shame and Guilt: The Masters of Disguise* (Deerfield Beach, FL: Health Communication, 1990).

[226] Spillane, 73.

> I am pretty much treating people the way I would like to be treated, or the way the nice people at work treated me. I want them to have a positive experience. I want them to learn, but I also want to be very supportive of them and want them to have a good time.[228]

He also suggests that this "legalized hazing" he experienced was a "kind of "characterological substrate" for those who find the hierarchically-based power structure of medical training to be particularly suited to their psychological needs. He notes that, "some of the attendings who are the worst ones were the ones who were hurt more and they are just trying to get back at others."[229] While he is unwilling to perpetuate this cycle of hazing and refuses to haze, he still rationalized and finds a place for shaming in its use as a function of increased power and increased responsibility where physicians use shame as a way to insure optimal performance.[230] This rationalization seems inconsistent with his own experience, since in fact his experience did not optimize his performance but hindered it. Others students had similar rationalizations; however, they are quick to note that "high-pressured learning is the worst way anyone could possibly learn … you put someone in an awkward position where it is very difficult for them to think, and it is very difficult for them to be in a learning environment …" Yet another student felt shaming experiences "were crucial in learning medicine, although (they) don't have to be malicious" and admitted he was involved in shaming other students through modelling the behaviour of other physicians until he developed his own identity as a physician. Shaming for this student seems "more to be about power, humiliation, and people wanting to feel that they are better than someone else. People who want to feel superior, feeds it. People having it done to them, trying to get back, feeds it."[231] Shaming may be a reaction to feeling "insecure enough that they feel the need to assert their power because they clearly know more" and this "is how they learned … so I have to pass it on."[232] It is "sort of a parent-child relationship, which is, sort of, interesting because my ideal parent-child relationship is not based on, sort of humiliation or a necessity to assert the hierarchy, but I guess what I mean by that is maintaining that person in the child or subordinate role, and really making sure that hierarchy is clear."[233] A distinction is made between "hierarchies that serve a functional purpose in maintaining roles and clarifying responsibilities in times of high stress, and those that seem more about fostering or maintaining a sense of oneself as a strong person."[234] This student postulates that shaming occurs when,

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[227] Spillane, 75.
[228] T.F. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of their Training* (Ann Arbor, MI: Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, 1995), 77.
[229] Spillane, 77.
[230] Spillane, 80.

> People have to affirm who they are, and part of that is affirming how they got to be who they are, and it's always a painful thing for people to say, "Well, I've been abused" or "Something has been wrong in my making," because that calls into question who they

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[231] Spillane, 84.

[232] T.F. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of their Training* (Ann Arbor, MI: Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, 1995), 88

[233] Spillane, 89.

[234] Spillane, 89.

> are. And I think in some ways by perpetuating something, it's saying this way of being is OK.[235]

This "process of incorporating abusive experiences leads to a kind of identity formation or characterological style that becomes rigidified and fixed out of a defensive need."[236] Shaming is then seen as a barrier to breaking boundaries. Each student developed coping strategies that in some sense allowed them to hide or deny their shaming experiences. "Sharing experiences with others and being able to articulate thoughts and feelings with friends that would not be safely tolerated within the power structure of the medical hierarchy was one way in which these students metabolized their experience."[237] Those who admitted to shaming others justified their actions as a critical part of learning to deal with crisis situations, and as an affective overload which limited their cognitive capacities and ability to empathize in particular. The need to "discharge anger, frustration, and powerlessness, overwhelmed any potential capacity … to consider the experience of the target of his wrath."[238] Still another "made a conscious choice to shame another in order to heighten his own appearance of competence, fully aware of the distress of the person being shamed, but prioritizing his own interests over empathic attunement to another's needs."[239]

> Yet another student who "shamed a trainee below him in the hierarchy revolved around his own need to discharge his aggression toward someone whom he found irritating, his need to keep his patients safe by using shame to define the boundaries and limitations of the trainee's skill, and his desire to deter this person from considering a career in his specialty."[240]

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[235] Spillane, 89.
[236] Spillane, 89.
[237] Spillane, 148.
[238] Spillane, 148.
[239] Spillane, 161.
[240] Spillane, 161.

He rationalized his behaviour: "Well, I did it. They'll get through it," and linking this to the sense that "I turned out OK," and "you still like to think of yourself as a good person.[241] [Y]ou teach the way you were taught."[242] Spillane addresses the question of shaming as a question of diminishing marginal returns:

> Overt claims about the value of shaming experiences tended to evolve around the ways in which the avoidance of shame insured optimal performance and served as a kind of weapon to be wielded by those on whom ultimate clinical responsibility rests, both insuring their own safety and that of their patients. Shaming experiences in the context of pimping[243] were viewed as efficient ways of instilling a kind of reflexive learning base, in which the belief that learning information in a stressful environment can be equated with actually utilizing that information in a stressful clinical situation.[244]

These claims are questionable and are contrary to the study's reported impaired cognitive functioning under the stress of shame. Spillane found the role which shaming experiences played in boundary maintenance more compelling. "Feeling shame or inflicting shameful feelings on another, seemed to act as a kind of warning signal that interpersonal boundaries, and more importantly, boundaries around knowledge and skill had been violated."[245] Spillane suggests an axial relationship between shame and learning as a process of diminishing returns.

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[241] Spillane, 162.

[242] Spillane, 162.

[243] Pimping is a teaching practice in medical training, as described by Dr. F.L. Brancati, *Department of Medicine,* University of Pittsburgh."On the surface, the aim of pimping appears to be Socratic instruction. The deeper motivation, however, is political. Proper pimping inculcates the intern with a profound and abiding respect for his attending physician while ridding the intern of needless self-esteem. Furthermore, after being pimped, he is drained of the desire to ask new questions, questions that his attending may be unable to answer. In the heat of the pimp, the young intern is hammered and wrought into the framework of the ward team. Pimping welds the hierarchy of academics in place, so the edifice of medicine may be erected securely, generation upon generation. The first recorded instance of pimping occurred in London in 1628 and is attributed to Harvey, Dr. F.L. Brancati, "The Art of Pimping," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 262 (1989): 2541. Pimping accomplished only four things for me: establishment of a pecking order among the medical staff; suppression of any honest and spontaneous intellectual questions or pursuit; creation of an atmosphere of hostility and anger; and perpetuation of the dehumanization for which medical education has been criticized.

[244] T.F. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians' Experiences of Shame in the Course of their Training* (Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services 1995, 168.

> Shaming experiences can and do promote growth, but can easily be abused to the point where learning diminishes as the degree of shaming increases. Whether it be shaming that emerges from the Socratic method, or the sleep deprivation that the technology that saves lives facilitates, one can see how the best of intentions, originally grounded in a theoretical, clinical, or historical space which truly believed in their merit, have been stretched, largely unnoticed, out of their original context and lost learning as their aim.[246]

These narratives parallel my experience, and that of *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew* and *Jill*. These stories of their schooling experiences suggest we live in a culture, with a schooling system and a science that systematically values shaming as an appropriate way to socialize cultural fitness and promote learning. A school system that is shame-based, in that it values competition over cooperation, equates performance with personal worth, and maintains ridicule, dishonour and disgrace as the harshest punishment, is hurtful and damaging for those unable to develop coping strategies. Such a system is more shameful than nourishing, and often makes students feel exposed and diminished, resulting in feelings of inferiority and anger. It perpetuates silencing, submission, fear, and detachment from our natural creative curiosity to explore and understand. We become so attached to institutional dogmas, so habituated to them, that we rationalize our experience to fit institutional practices and no longer question the very logic and science that constructs our living in the world.

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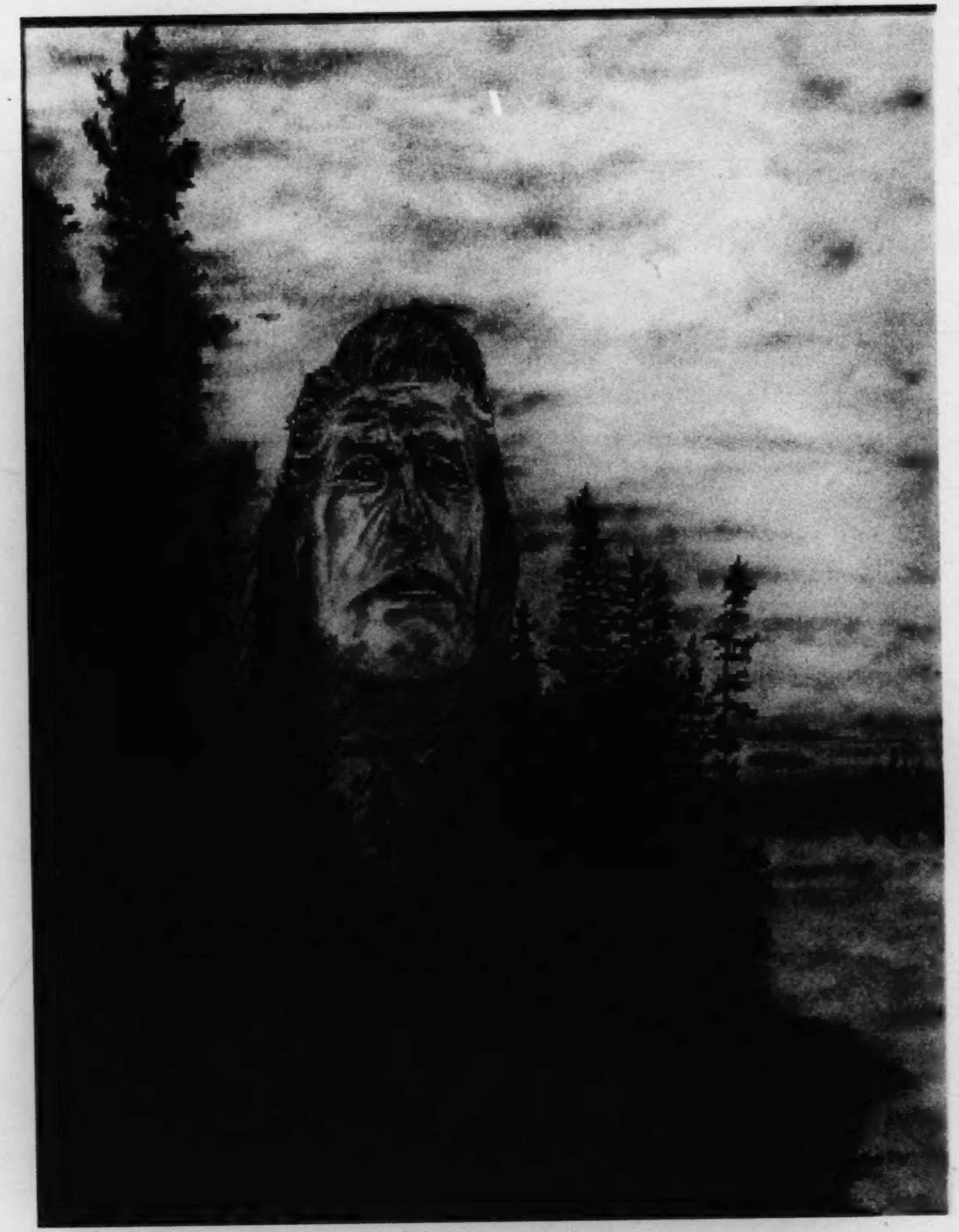
[245] Spillane, 168.
[246] Spillane, 168.



Hear me, six powers of the earth – I am your relative.
Give me the courage to walk the soft earth, a relative to all that is.
Give me strength to face into the harsh, cold stinging windows of criticism, disapproval, condemnation and rejection.
Give me the courage to act and do no intentional harm, to act with respect, caring and in a loving way.
With your energy I can survive, live decently, with honesty and face directly into these storms.

The North

The North (*Waziyata*) the place or land past where the pine trees grow, synonymous with the Arctic and an Arctic front that moves down from the north bringing cold, snow, and freezing air that has a destructive power. This destructive power is seen as a snow monster that promotes the need to be aware, to be vigilant, to be careful, to be prepared, and to protect ourselves from the cold Arctic air. The positive aspect is that of being the teacher and as a coping metaphor. It teaches us ways of coping with the extreme cold and Arctic winds. As the numbing air invades our physical being, it activates coping mechanisms to think and reason and thereby to know about ways of coping with these kinds of situations. These energized coping mechanisms are viewed as the positive aspects of *Waziya* in that they teach us to prepare in advance for the cold winters that experience has shown us do actually exist and will approach as the leaves change colour and frost appears. It is also a teaching metaphor for dealing with negative human behaviour. The buffalo's survival tactic is to confront *Waziya* head-on to survive the cold, freezing, Arctic winds. The buffalo has its own kind of coping mechanism to face the wind. It has a special kind of fur that is thickest around its head, hump, shoulders, and down its frontal area. This protects the buffalo from the Arctic wind. The buffalo is a metaphor for our own survival. Like the buffalo, we must learn to face into the harsh, cold, stinging winds of criticism, envy, jealousy, disapproval, condemnation, rejection, and so on. We can survive if we live decently, with honesty and face directly into these storms. Doing things, actions, our talk, and thinking, move us towards a better way of reasoning and as our reasoning improves so does our honesty and thereby we move closer to understanding. It is a metaphor of action, not resignation. The colour for this direction is red, the colour of courage and of spirituality. The pursuit of a spiritual path (the red path) requires a tremendous amount of courage. Its twin aspects are honesty and courage to understand delusions, illusions, falsehood, misrepresentations, misunderstandings and misinterpretations and the courage to act in an honest way.

Do No Intentional Harm

It is now time to rest from meandering, climbing the mountains of discovery and descending into the valleys of despair on the remembered landscape of schooling. It is time to close this story bundle. As I pause at this stage of my journey, of memories, of visions, of exploration and of discovery, I enter into the eye of the hurricane. It is a place of peace, harmony and balance that releases my Hawk spirit so that I may delta dive, swoop, and glide upon the winds of my new understanding. I ascend to the heights of the curvature of the earth away from the harsh, cold, stinging winds of criticism, disapproval, condemnation, and rejection from the present; I contemplate the past of my lived experiences on the landscapes of schooling and imagine my future as a teacher. I am aware of shaming on multiple levels of understanding. I now see the power of the Crow. I wondered about those experiences which made me think of eating Crow and what it means. With Hawk eyes I see shaming as the abuse of power that attempts to steal your spirit. I see shame as the effect of this abuse that denies other ways of knowing; it is socialized imprinting at a cultural level, a systemic level, and an interpersonal and intrapersonal level.

It is time to walk the sacred path of awareness, nurturing, change, and courage as we think about our futures as teachers. As I think about these experiences cross-culturally, I remember that the Lakota "old ones" had an ethos, a world view, which understood power. I am drawn to the wisdom of the "old ones." The **video rewinds** to a warm summer afternoon at the university. I am having a conversation with Lionel

Kinunwa[247], a Lakota Elder and linguistic anthropologist, about shame. He reminds me that public schooling has been shaming for indigenous children by breaking the bond between parents and grandparents and their culture, and that we have a responsibility as teachers interacting with childern, adolescents, and adults to be careful of the words and gestures we use because we may open doors of pain, anguish, and suffering from their experiences in public education.

> Remember we are only people learning to become human beings! On our earth walk we are responsible for our words and actions and must do no intentional harm. If we do create some harm, we are aware of, we are responsible to try and correct that harm – to restore balance and harmony in and between people. That's why many Elders who follow this belief state before they speak "that they can only use the limited and imprecise language they have and mean no harm, emotionally, physically, psychologically, or spiritually when they speak.[248]

What a simple but complex phrase – **do no intentional harm**. In Lakota and Mohawk[249] ethos, the ideal of do no intentional harm is also expressed in the ethic of non-interference. Simply stated, it is inappropriate to directly interfere with the natural energy, curiosity and sense of discovery of the child. Children are to be allowed to explore and develop socially at their own pace and parents are responsible to guide their development through modelling appropriate behaviour and to protect them from serious physical harm. It is an ethic that supports and guides the natural process indirectly without a perceived outcome. The practice of instruction is not undesirable behaviour, but it is the way that it is done that is somehow objectionable if it is perceived as interfering with individual autonomy. Respect for autonomy permitting a great scope of self-expression and the prevention of direct coercive techniques of behaviour modification are unwanted.[250] Any unwanted interference is perceived as an attempt to establish dominance, however trivial, and the interferer would be fastidiously avoided in future.[251] I understand this ethic as the wisdom of the "old ones" who understood that children are our future and that they are in a precarious and powerless position, susceptible to abuse by adults if they are not respected and loved. The "old ones" have a world view, an ethos, that suggests that they had clear understanding of power, that children, parents, and teachers have an animating force (*Skan*) emotive energy that can create and destroy. It was the parents' and teachers' responsibility not to harm the child.

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[247] Lionel Kinunwa is deeply missed; since that conversation and others he has returned from whence he came.

[248] Personal communication with Lionel Kinunwa, June, 2002.

[249] C. Brant, "Native Ethics and Rules of Behaviour," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 35 (August, 1990): 534-539, an Iroquois psychiatrist, based on direct observation during 24 years of medical practice and other forms of association with Iroquoian groups of southern Ontario and Quebec, the Ojibway of southern Ontario, and the Swampy Cree of James and Hudson's Bay, "Native ethics, values, and rules of behaviour … persist in disguised form as carryovers from the Aboriginal culture and which strongly influence Native thinking and action even today" and "the suppression of conflict practiced through the ethics of non-interference, non-competitiveness and emotional restraint" (534-535) maintains harmony.

As I look back to my experiences, and *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* and *Jill's* experiences, I see teachers who chose to use their positions as power. They chose Crow when they should have chosen Hawk. I wonder how different this story might have been if Sister Michael Joseph had just accepted the budding artist's work, had reconnected, and accepted the child's vision. If she had waited for the answer to her question, "Where did you ever see a sky like that?" I would have answered that it was Grandfather's Gift. The nun did not seem to want to understand or value the picture and the emotions it evoked. Her rebuke triggered my childhood memory of the orphanage when my bow

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Also see R. Ross, *Dancing with a Ghost: Exploring Indian Reality*. (Markham, ON: Octopus Publishing Group, 1992) and *Returning to the Teachings: Exploring Aboriginal Justice* (Penguin Books, 1996).

[250] C. Brant, "Native ethics and rules of behaviour," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 35 (August, 1990): 534-535.

[251] M. Wax and R. Thomas, "American Indians and White People," *Phylon* 22 (Winter, 1961): 305-317.

and tomahawk were taken as a rejecting of my heritage. I know now that the sky and the bear hug was the physical representation of my Grandfather's words; the words I never understood at the time they were spoken. The colours of the sky were the sacred colours of the hoop of becoming. The bear hug and playing with the other children reaffirmed my heritage even though he knew I would have to return to the orphanage. Those moments of attachment emerged in my art and do to this day. When the nun changed the sky she minimized and trivialized this ancient gift. I was the student. I became an object lesson of not completing the task as expected. I became the object lesson for the rest of the class. They knew that if one of them did not do as expected or directed, they would be subject to the same kind of treatment. As the picture hung there at the front of the class, I felt its gaze, not of that warm caring place on a cold winter's day, but as a moment of humiliation evoking feelings of shame and habituating passive and submissive obedience to the authority of the teacher. It became part of the architecture of the classroom. It became the authority and power of the teacher – the hidden curriculum – the panopticon of power. This episode is the definitive act that for me differentiates shaming and non-shaming initiation to modify social behaviour. If positive contact (sensitivity, responsiveness, and emotionally approachable conditions) is restored shortly after the behaviour episode, then shaming is not initiated, yet the student still learns how to modulate these stressful experiences. Sister Michael Joseph's refusal to speak to me during the remainder of the class and then hanging the picture at the front of the class is an explicit example of shaming. As the research suggests, shame, in direct contrast to the psychobiologically energized state, is an acutely painful stress-associated affect that triggers a rapid de-energizing state in the student in which the deflated self, depleted of energy, withdraws, recoils, and attempts to disappear from the view of significant other – the teacher.[252] In my case I withdrew into drawing, while both *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew* and *Jill* went through stages of self-destructive behaviour. Shame, as opposed to processes that promote and prolong contact and facilitate integration with sources of satisfaction, induces a desire to end contact and halting arousal.[253] It constitutes "a switch from an attachment-affiliation or exploratory-assertive to an aversive motivational functional system. Shame stress thus precipitates a rapid and unexpected contraction of the self."[254] In *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* words, *"I had nightmares most of my life." "I shut down in boarding school and most of my life." "I shut down my feelings, my life has been chaos, and I learned to repress my feelings."*

The critical point is teachers' capacity to monitor and regulate their own affect.[255] If teachers are sensitive, responsive, emotionally approachable, and re-initiate a mutual gaze, the dyad is psychobiologically re-attuned, the shame energy is regulated, the attachment bond is re-established, and these events are stored within an "internal working model" of a secure attachment.[256] Thus if there is a dyadic relationship and teachers monitor and regulate their own emotional state in a positive affect interaction then there is *no shame experience*. Teachers need to consider the emotional state of the child and use a process for correcting behaviour in a positive way, which is through modelling, removing the child from danger, and correcting through explanation. The result is positive affect which is an external modification or socialization that maintains internal attachment. It teaches the child self-restraint through the experience of modulated emotion consistent with the child's previously attuned socioemotional environment.

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[252] Allan N. Schore, *Affect Regulation and the Origin of the Self: The Neurobiology of Emotional Development* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1994), 65-66.

[253] See P.H. Knapp, "Purging and Curbing: An Inquiry into Disgust, Satiety and Shame," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease* 144 (1967): 514-544.

[254] Allan N. Schore, 66.

[255] Allan N. Schore, 67.

[256] Allan N. Schore, 67.

On the other hand, if the teacher frequently humiliates, ridicules, and rejects the student's requests for comfort in stressful situations, the internal working model of the teacher is rejection and of the student is of being unworthy of help and comfort.[257] Active teacher participation in regulating the student's shame state is central to the student's ability to cope or not to cope with negative and positive affect.[258] "Clinical observers note that failures of early attachment invariably become sources of shame, that impairments in the parent-child relationship lead to pathology through an enduring disposition to shame, and that early abuse engenders intense bodily shame."[259] These clinical observations imply that shame is not inherent in human organisms but an early developing inefficient capacity to autoregulate or interactively regulate the imprinted, potent affect that is "psychopathogenic."[260] Therefore specific emotions such as shame and love are now understood to involve a distinctive "core relational theme." These are essentially person-environment relationships[261] that are elicited by an appraisal of actual or expected changes that are important to the individual.[262] "Shame is directly related to visual phenomena; the core relational shame transaction becomes internalized in implicit, procedural memory as a visual stored image."[263] Nathanson describes shame as "a biological system by which the organism controls its affective output so that it will not remain interested or content when it may not be safe to do so or so that it will not remain in affective resonance with an organism that fails to match its patterns stored in memory."[264]

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[257] Allan N. Schore, 67.
[258] Allan N. Schore, 66-67.
[259] Allan N. Schore, *Affect Regulation and the Origin of the Self: The Neurobiology of Emotional Development* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1994), 67. Also see G. Kaufman, *The Psychology of Shame: Theory and Treatment of Shame-based Syndromes* (New York: Springer, 1989); M. Lewis, *Shame: The Exposed Self* (New York: The Free Press 1992); and B. Andrews, "Bodily Shame as a Mediator between Abusive Experiences and Depression," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 104 (2) (1995): 277-285
[260] Allan N. Schore, 67.
[261] See R.S. Lazarus, "Progress on a Cognitive-Motivational-Relational Theory of Emotion," *American Psychologist* 46 (1991):819-834.
[262] See N.M. Frijda, "The Laws of Emotion," *American Psychologist* 43 (1988): 349-358.

As teachers we need to be aware that shaming is very common and is considered by many to be an appropriate response by adults to teach the child the difference between right and wrong and between good and bad behaviour.[265] This was demonstrated by Solomon and Serres who found that only 4% of children aged ten had not been the targets of their parents' shaming; including "rejecting, demeaning, terrorising, criticising (destructively), or insulting statements."[266] What was also suggested from their research is that shaming is common and not restricted to "abusive" families but occurs in "nice" families and school environments. Verbal punishment relies on shame as the deterrent, in the same way that corporal punishment relies on pain with shaming as one of the most common methods used to regulate children's behaviour.[267] "No one is born ashamed. It is a learned, self-conscious emotion, which starts at roughly two years of age with the advent of language and self-image."[268]

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[263] Allan N. Schore, 68.

[264] D.L. Nathanson, *Shame and Pride: Affect, Sex, and the Birth of the Self* (New York: Norton, 1992), 140.

[265] Robin Grille and Beth Macgregor, "'Good' Children – At what price? The secret cost of shame" *Sydney's Child* 1 May 2002, 1 http://www.nospank.net/grille3.htm, 1-2.

[266] Robin Grille and Beth Macgregor, 1-2. Also see Ruth Solomon and Francoise Serres, "Effects of Parental Verbal Aggression on Children's Self-Esteem and School Marks," *Child Abuse and Neglect* 23. 4 (1999): 339-351.

[267] Robin Grille and Beth Macgregor, 1-2.

[268] Robin Grille and Beth Macgregor, 3

Therefore, as teachers we can expect that a percentage of our students have been shamed or shame prone and we need to be careful not to cause intentional harm.

As I look back to my experiences with Sister Michael Joseph, and to *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* and *Jill's* experiences in public schooling, I see an environment where children are placed in a precarious and essentially powerless position, "a system that, through the structure and pedagogy of school, tries to shape the behaviour of students."[269] In Lockean terms, it is a kind of education that manipulates the child's emotion through the love of credit and the apprehension of shame and disgrace.[270] The cornerstone of public schooling is what Bruce Curtis calls "the construction of routines and rituals of obedience … implanted in the selves of students."[271]

As a teacher who walks the hoop of the "old ones", cognisant of my responsibility to be aware, to nurture, to be willing to change, and to have the courage to do no intentional harm I look to the past in hope for the future. Residential school was the most obvious and blatant example of Canada's national shaming and is sometimes thought of as something that was done to someone else. It was in the past. We need to move on. What is less obvious (or at least less talked about) is that these same practices (albeit, less cruel) exist in public primary and secondary schooling across Canada today. For some it is less obvious because some teachers have habituated a culturally socialized acceptance that shaming is an appropriate process to fit children into Canadian adulthood and becoming a productive citizen in the socioeconomic structure. For those with a different set of beliefs and values, the hypocrisy of shaming and creating strangers is obvious and the challenge for these people becomes the necessity to develop adaptive strategies to protect the spirit of connectedness.

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[269] Sandro, Contenta. (1993). *The Rituals of Failure: What Schools Really Teach.* (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines, 1993), 11.

[270] Sandro Contenta, 12.

[271] Sandro Contenta. (1993). *The Rituals of Failure: What Schools Really Teach.* (Toronto, ON: Between the Lines, 1993), 15.

We need to comprehend this institutionalized power within a culturally prescribed school milieu that separates children from themselves, the child from the student, and the student from the teacher in the panopticon of schooling. We need to understand what I see as an abuse of power inherent in the structure of schooling. I think about how it has become for me an insidious process of psychological, emotional, physical, and spiritual violence perpetrated by some school teachers on children who are rooted in the political space of the classroom, and subject to the authority and expertise of the teacher, supported with a system that lauds conformity, unity, and social fitness.

As I look back at these stories, I wonder where the Hawks are. Are we finally ready to heed the wisdom of the "old ones" and stop growing Crow feathers on Hawks? These real stories of lived experiences express the impact of shaming on childhood, adolescence, and ultimately adulthood. The shaming of many indigenous children may partly explain the intergenerational cultural dislocation and poverty of many indigenous people, referred to as the legacy of residential schools.[272] Many indigenous people did not become productive citizens of Canada, which was the stated goal of public education since its formal inception. It was not until 1996 that the Canadian Government through the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples revealed (made teachers aware) of the full extent of abuse suffered by Indigenous children in residential schools and established the Aboriginal Healing Foundation in 1998.

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[272] Aboriginal Healing Foundation, "The Healing Has Begun," (Ottawa: Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2002) "There are approximately 93,000 former students alive today. Residential schools were in operation well into the last quarter of the 20th Century. Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife, NT did not close until the 1990s (2).

If we believe that our children are our future, then as practicing teachers and teacher researchers we need to have the courage to become Hawks. We need to take responsibility for identifying and acknowledging in our practice shaming and shaming potentials, that shaming is inherent in the very structure of public schooling, and it is likely that a number of our students have already been imprinted with shame before they enter the classroom. As the Quebec study suggests, these students perform poorly on the indicators deemed to make them productive citizens. We need to build community, not strangers.

Epilogue – The Storying Landscape

As I anguished over renewed conversations with *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew*, over recollections of my own experiences, and over my dread for my granddaughters, I needed to restore my balance and renew my spirit. I needed to return to the domicile of the grandfathers – the inipi.[273] *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* story is told. She needs time to heal and so do I. In the sacred lodge I endured the suffering of our people and asked in the Iroquois way for a good mind and in the Lakota way for a good heart to continue this journey. I needed a respite from these moments and turned my attention as the grandfather researcher to the meaning of "stories of experience and narrative inquiry."[274]

With Hawk eyes I return to the painting of my youth and survey the positioning of the two teachers as they discuss the painting. Their interpretations positioned them in a microcosm of the larger tension on the boundaries[275] of academic research.[276] I see the nun positioned in the objectification of geometrical forms and goals of the lesson and the lay teacher positioned in the aesthetics of the forms beyond (yet including) the geometrical forms; that is how the aesthetics evoke a lived experience. When I think of lived experiences, I think of narrative, of storying, of nest building, of a lived life, and of a named bundle that becomes unpacked with the telling.

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[273] Sweat Lodge.

[274] F. M. Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry," in *Educational Researcher* 19 (1990): 2-14.

[275] See D. J. Clandinin and F. M. Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2000), 29-32.

[276] See N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln, eds., *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications (1998), and L. Berg, *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences* 2nd ed., (Toronto: Allyn and Bacon, 1995).

> The main claim for the use of narrative in educational research is that humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead storied lives. The study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways humans experience the world. This general notion translates into the view that education is the construction and reconstruction of personal and social stories; teachers and learners are storytellers and characters in their own and other's stories.[277]
>
> Story crosses over all boundaries for it speaks the language of the heart"[278] and through the stories we hear who we are.[279]

As I think about this, I hear the words of another teacher – the Irish Hawk[280] - the musical lilt in her voice, the keen perception that restores diminished spirit.

> Use the stories as a way to explore how people feel when their spirit is diminished, how the teacher acts as expert, and with authority as fiat, and how then a relationship is created, of fear, of punishment, of scapegoating, of randomness, without recourse.[281]

Leslie Marmon Silko[282] illuminates the meaning of landscapes in her discourse of interior and exterior lands:

> Pueblo potters, the creators of petroglyphs and oral narratives, never conceived of removing themselves from the earth and sky. So long as the human consciousness remains within the hills, canyons, cliffs, and the plants, clouds, and sky, the term landscape, as it has entered the English language, is misleading. A portion of territory the eye can comprehend in a single view does not correctly describe the relationship between the human being and his or her surroundings. This assumes the viewer is somehow outside or separate from the territory she or he

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[277] F M. Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, "Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry," in *Educational Researcher* 19 (1990), 2.

[278] A. Cox, personal communication, September 1, 1997.

[279] L. M. Silko, "Interior and Exterior Landscapes: The Pueblo Migration Stories," in *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit* (New York: Touchstone, 1996). 30. See also A. Dyson and C. Genishi, *The Need for Story* (Urbana, IL: The National Council of Teachers of English, 1994).

[280] Irish Hawk is a pseudonym for a teacher and a personal communication March 2000. A practicing teacher who teaches leadership and administration.

[281] L. M. Silko, 30.

[282] L. M. Silko, 27-28.

> surveys. Viewers are as much a part of the landscape as the boulders they stand on. …The squash blossom itself is one thing: itself. So the ancient Pueblo potter abstracts what she saw to be the key elements of the squash blossom – the four symmetrical petals, with four symmetrical stamens in the center. These key elements, while suggesting the squash flower, also link it with the four cardinal directions. Represented only in its intrinsic form, the squash flower or a cloud or a lightning bolt became intricately connected with a complex system of relationships that the ancient Pueblo people maintained with each other and with the populous natural world they lived within.

The painting of my youth was one painting: itself. It was a lifelike rendering that moved a simple geometrical task to a complex system of relationships; the task of simply creating geometrical forms was too restrictive for the lay teacher. She positioned herself within the landscape of the painting and connected it to a lived experience with the natural world she lived within. The nun was unable or unwilling to reposition herself even within the context of the discussion; instead she remained the authority, the arbitrator of the correct form, when she changed the blue and red sky, remaining unmoved even when faced with a different perspective. My moments of shaming suggested they were singular events, a reflection of my own feelings of my educational experiences, but in conversations with others they were clearly part of a larger phenomenon that permeates broader educational experience. Given the dominant research methods of the social sciences and the unlikelihood that any educational authority would allow me to enter a number of schools without a "cover story" to observe how teachers shame students, I was left with the only listening to stories. A cover story would have been required to enter the school. A cover story in this sense would mean that I would have had to lie about the purpose of the research to gain access to the classroom, which was for me not only immoral but also unethical. As I worked with and understood narrative inquiry more fully, I began to see that it was a better fit for this inquiry than other methodologies that I examined.

I see Allison Cox, a storyteller who uses storytelling as a therapeutic tool in her work within the health systems of Canada and the United States, who talks about her experiences as a storyteller and story listener. Allison describes listening as letting go of defences and relaxing into the known, safe environment of story where a shift in consciousness takes place. The listeners (readers) are offered a chance to measure their own experience in the light of the told story.[283] Story lends narrative structure to events that might otherwise seem random and meaningless. Storytelling, like music, is a profound medium that transcends the boundaries of culture, changing the way one views one's personal history. It can enact change. Storytelling, as a survival mechanism, is a healing tool that allows one to face life challenges and to confront a society of racism, sexism, violence, and drugs. It is a vehicle for the mind to make sense of the world.[284]

Storying not only allows one as the listener to empathise with the experiences of others, but to resonate with the participant's understanding of their experiences. As a collaborative endeavour, intersubjectivity is "a strength" and provides a means to step back from experience and to clarify understandings and feelings about institutionalised shaming. In a sense, it is a communal dialogue that shares feelings about experiences wrought from the alienating process of living a method, and gives voice not only to the inquirer, but to the participants. It also speaks to a broader audience – the reader. Greg Sarris makes somewhat the same point when he discusses dialogue as an essential characteristic of novels that comprise a multitude of voices. Given the nature of this shared experience, "the occasion" of interaction and a relived episode of one's own story (the interpersonal interaction), the researcher cannot be neutral. As the reader, listener or storyteller "intermingling internal voices hold dialogue with the intermingling voices" of the story. The intermingling of internal voices from the Native perspective also include the voices of the Grandfathers and Grandmothers that connect the shared experiences of the past, the present, and the future; a visualizing and visioning of the Native way of knowing.[285] Storying is oriented in personal growth and transformation as a basis for social change. These sentiments are also held by Bruchac, an Abenaki Native storyteller, who says that "stories have the power to heal, …telling their own stories help them understand who they are and, also, who they might become."[286]

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[283] See D. J. Clandinin and F. M. Connelly, "Asking Questions About Telling Stories, " in Craig Kridel, ed., *Writing Educational Bioraphy: Explorations in Qualitative Research*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998).

[284] See Sofia Villenas, "Latina Mothers and Small-town Racisms: Creating Narratives of Dignity and Moral education in North Carolina," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 32. 1 (2001): 3-28.

The basic assumption of social science is a concern with humans and their relations with themselves and their environments and the focus of this storying is experience. Experience is, therefore, the starting point of this social understanding. I believe that meaning is constructed from a multitude of experiences expressed through imagining, images, dreams, feelings, and behaviour, oral and written texts,[287] which form the basis of this journey. Experiences as stories speak for themselves and the focus of this journey centres on the meanings contained in the expressions and forms by which they are constructed.[288] The storying of shaming is the study of lived experiences and the telling of these remembrances as stories, is based on the assumption that experience is both temporal and storied. There is a sense of ongoingness, of composition over time. Stories reflect human feelings and lived experience; and healing and understanding involve the telling, hearing, and unravelling of stories. The imagined, and metaphorical images and feelings evoked by stories move one beyond the supposed artificial, sterile, mechanical, analytical tools that appear to unattach the inherent relations between the storyteller and the listener and appear to be primarily a function of the mind rather than of holistic experience. Being in the world, lived reality is not only grasped in the form of multiple tangible and intangible mental and social constructions, formed from social interaction, the environment and individual experiences, culturally and cross-culturally; it is also grasped from feelings. Personal experience and its narrative text more closely represent these realities of living in the world. "Such an approach values individually constructed narratives as epistemologically sound ways of knowing."[289]

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[285] G. Sarris, *Keeping Slug Woman Alive* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), 4-6.
[286] J. Bruchac *Tell Me A Tale: A Book About Storytelling* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1997), 63 and 73.
[287] L. M. Silko, *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit* (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 21.

Storying is both a phenomenon and a method of de-objectifying the experience to maintain its resonance with the listener (reader)[290]. Engaging in storying allows one to begin to comprehend the participants' understandings of how the process of shaming is narratively composed, embodied in a person, and expressed as experiences. It also gives the listener a sense of how they compose and understand their own experiences. Storying carries more a sense of search, re-search, searching again, more of a sense of continued reformulation of the story than it carries a sense of problem definition and solution.[291] One looks for the patterns, story threads, tensions, and themes either within or across an individual's experience and in the social setting.[292] The main issue for the listeners (reader) is to sort out the storied view of experience. In writing the text, the storyteller keeps in proximity a storied view of experience with the participants' and storytellers' narratives of experience situated and lived out on storied landscapes as a theoretical methodological frame. Storying text is fundamentally a temporal text about what has been and what is becoming, and not merely what is. That is, it contextualizes socially, historically, and theoretically. The text includes argument, description, and narrative form. "[Story] inquirers describe storied lives, collect and tell stories of them, and write narratives of experience."[293]

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[288] See D. Rose, *Living the Ethnographic Life* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1990), D.A. Schon, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), and *The Reflective Turn: Case Studies in Reflective Practice,* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1991).

[289] T. F. Spillane, *An Exploratory Study of Physicians Experiences of Shame in the Course of Their Training* (Unpublished PhD, Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology, Ann Arbor, Michigan: ProQuest, 1995); M.F. Belenky, B.M. Clinchy, N.R. Goldberger and J.M. Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind.* (New York: Harper Collins, 1986), J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London, UK: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972) and D. Aspen, "Metaphor and Meaning in Educational Discourse," in W. Tailor, ed., *Metaphors in Education* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1984).

[290] F. M. Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, "*Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry,*" *Educational Researcher* 19. 5 (1990): 2-14. Michael Connelly and Jean Clandinin make a distinction between narrative and story. "Narrative names the structured quality of experience to be studied, and it names the

In the process of trying to understand and make meaning of the experiential situation, it is the internal and existential situation, the internal and existential whole that is ultimately of interest. The methods of storying of personal experience were for me

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patterns of inquiry for its study. To preserve this distinction … phenomenon [is] story and the inquiry narrative" (2).

[291] D. J. Clandinin and F. M. Connelly, *Narrative Inquiry: Experience and Story in Qualitative Research* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2000), 207 and "Personal Experience Methods," in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London, UK: Sage, 1994). Also see N. Denzin, *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century* (London, UK: Sage Publications, 1997), "Entering the Field of Qualitative Research," in N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994) and N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln, eds., *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994).

[292] D. J. Clandinin and F. M. Connelly, 219.

[293] D. J. Clandinin and F. M. Connelly, 416.

simultaneously focused in six directions: inward and outward, backward and forward, and upward and downward; they simultaneously created wondering in each direction. The diligent constructing of field texts and notes allowed the story listener who became the writer to step back from the intimacy of the inquiry and to reflect. The composed storying text illustrated how the social narrative of shaming shapes knowledge about oneself. The terms, "personal" and "social", "past", "present", and "future", and "spiritual" are combined with the notion of "place" (situatedness). The principal interest in experience is the growth and transformation in the life stories that listeners and collaborators author. By inviting the stories, I sought to move from the individual to the systemic in our understanding of the role which shame plays within the larger educational system.

The criteria for judging the value of storying derive from a sense of the whole as having an explanatory, invitational quality, as having authenticity, as having adequacy and plausibility, apparency, verisimilitude, and transferability rather than reliability, validity and generalizability[294].

It gives a sense of understanding a storyteller's experience and describes stories to live by. The narrative contribution is intended to create a new sense of meaning and significance with respect to the constructed shaming process. An integral part of storying is the recognition and representation of the participants' voice, inquirers' voice, and the silenced voice. It provides an alternative way of thinking about what has become so-matter-of-fact, so routinized, that it is seldom challenged. "It is in the research relationship among participants and researchers, and among researchers and audiences, through research texts that we see the possibility for individual and social change."[295]

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[294] For a discussion of explanation and narrative see Andrew Sayer, "Geohistorical explanation and problems of narrative," in *Realism and Social Science* (London: Sage, 2000), 131-154. F. M. Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, "*Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry,*" *Educational Researcher* 19. 5 (1990), 7.

It is with Hawk eyes that I attempted to understand educational shaping, through conversations with others, field notes, pictures and poems, reflections, perusal of theories of shaming, and experiential stories containing tacit knowledge[296] to attempt to understand these social constructs that attempt to steal our Hawk spirit.

"An interview is literally an inner view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest."[297] I use the term to mean that conversation or story is an internal view of the experience. The four central themes that emerged from *Asiniwaciaw Iskwew's* and *Jill's* stories were a common sense of being shamed, of being suspended between two worlds, of wanting their voices to be heard, and of wanting a change for future generations. They were stories of feelings of confusion, of loss of direction, and of being overwhelmed. At a minimum, the stories denoted a subtle, perhaps indefinable, sense of estrangement and malaise underpinning de-culturation, the re-shaping processes that marginalized the tellers from themselves and their embodied sense of connection with either their culture or the larger society. When I use the terms "de-culturation" and "suspended between two worlds" I am referring to the processes of residential schools that attempted to eradicate Native socialization and attempt to replace it with mainstream culture. Some Native people also refer to it as detribalisation. They were stories of silencing; stories of disharmony and harmony and of attempts to maintain balance within self. They were stories of life journeys, of reflecting, searching, discovering, and healing. When I thought of my own story and stories I had heard, I "flashed back" to those moments of the child artist. They all were reflective of a phenomenon – life experiences in education – of what I am coming to call a "shame-based educational system." As I attempt to comprehend this process of learning and shaping, the term shame is promoted by the stories I have heard and by the literature; it is not my term but the puzzle, the struggle to uncover its underlying meaning in the educational milieu. I think of that budding artist socialised in such institutional systems, where all questioning of the basic directives and underlying assumptions of the educators was not allowed. Institutions strove to use shame to "detribalise" and teach some children to reject both who they were and their possibilities for becoming. In my own experience, I felt that I was suspended between my own feelings of who I was, and the institutional narratives that shaped the way I was viewed by others, and, in turn, myself. I remembered my face slapping lesson and my confusion at what I had done. As I considered my experiences, those of my classmates', and the experiences of the storytellers, and struggled with feelings that there was something fundamentally wrong, I came to understand that it was not our own shame, but, institutionalised shaming that was attacking the spirit of each individual. The lack of validation and respect, requirements for conformity, being treated differently, competing, shaming, and then becoming, awakened a need in me, and others, to understand the perpetuating systemic social constructs that alienated us from ourselves and our possibilities. Those silencing processes taught us that learning was a struggle to maintain some dignity.

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[295] F. M. Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, "*Stories of Experience and Narrative Inquiry*, 7.
[296] Carola Conle, "Resonance in Preservice Teacher Inquiry," in *American Educational Research Journal*, Summer 33. 2 (1996):297-325.
[297] S. Kvale, *Inter view: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing* (London: Sage, 1996), 14.

This is an ongoing story of understanding, interrelatedness, of struggle and of hope for the creation of better learning environments. The initial project that became my Master's thesis was exploratory, narrowing the focus of the educational experiences to several general themes: the overpowering sense of being shamed, the loss of Indigenous words, of family connections, adapting to another way of thinking, an awareness of the need to survive, and attempts to regain balance. Shaming, the predominant feeling that emerged from the inner-viewees' stories of their educational experiences, remained the focus of this (step in my new) journey.

My account is informed most strongly by these memories of childhood experiences. It is a memoir, rather than a life story, that I present here. "Memoir" is some portion of a life. Unlike an autobiography that traces the whole course of a life, memoir takes one back to those vivid or intense unique events in life and their meaning to the author.[298] Maxine Greene suggests somewhat the same notion when she states:

> Moreover, since perception always takes place from a particular vantage point in the lived world – since our efforts to grasp reality must, therefore, always be incomplete projects – we feel ourselves summoned to take the kinds of initiatives that relate perspectives into a more or less coherent, even if unfinished whole…the very effort to shape the materials of lived experience into narrative to be a source of meaning making.[299]

Other's experiences in childhood are similar, "…much of education as we know it is an education in forgetfulness. Distracting the young from their own perceived landscapes and shapes, we teachers insist on the givenness of predetermined explanatory frames."[300] In this study I have examined these frames and the storied experience of others from multiple perspectives through the eyes of the child, grandfather, and the overarching (over soaring) perspective of the Hawk.

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[298] Russell, Baker, *Inventing the Truth: The Art and Craft of Memoir* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 11-29.

[299] Maxine Greene, *Releasing the Imagination: Essays on Education, The Arts, and Social Change* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers 1995), 74-75.

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[300] Maxine Greene, 74.

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